The
Robert E. Gross
Collection

A Memorial to the Founder
of the
Lockheed Aircraft
Corporation

Business Administration Library
University of California
Los Angeles

A

LETTER

FROM A

BY-STANDER

TO A

MEMBER of PARLIAMENT, &c.

Price One Shilling and Six Pence.

A

A

LETTER

FROM A

BY-STANDER

TO A

MEMBER of PARLIAMENT:

Wherein is Examined

What Neceſſity there is for the Maintenance of a Large Regular LAND-FORCE in this ISLAND;

What Proportions the Revenues of the Crown have born to thoſe of the People, at different Periods from the Reſtoration to His preſent MAJESTY's Acceſſion;

And whether the Weight of Power in the Regal or Popular Scale now preponderates.

The SECOND EDITION.

LONDON:

Printed for J. ROBERTS in *Warwick-Lane.*

M DCC XLII.

Price One Shilling and Six Pence.

A

LETTER

FROM A

BY-STANDER

TO A

MEMBER of PARLIAMENT, &c.

SIR,

IF I apprehend rightly the Circumſtances of the *preſent* Juncture, it is no Time for Apology, nor a proper Seaſon to trouble you with any Impertinencies concerning my own Modeſty and Diffidence in Writing; it is ſufficient that I am induced to it out of a Regard to my Country, to the Freedom and Welfare of it, and a Deſire that ſome Points of the utmoſt Conſequence to theſe ſhould be better underſtood, and more candidly received by the People of *Britain*.

It is a Proſpect that is very melancholy to every one that regards the Liberty and Happineſs

neſs of Mankind; to obſerve the prodigious military Eſtabliſhments in every Kingdom and Province of *Europe*; theſe have for above a Century paſt been continually increaſing in all Parts around us; Princes formerly vy'd with each other in the Variety and Gaiety of their Diverſions; magnificent Tilts and Tournaments, with Hunting and Hawking delighted thoſe that were the moſt martial, while ſumptuous Feaſtings and Masks employed the milder Genius of others; and the moſt puiſſant then chiefly gratified their Ambition by poſſeſſing extenſive Chaſes and Foreſts: But their Thoughts are now directed to more formidable Ends; Their Expences are almoſt all employed in rendering themſelves terrible to their Neighbours; and fortified Towns and Citadels are the ſovereign Game they hunt after.

Applications of this hoſtile Turn in ſome, ſoon made them neceſſary in all; and we now ſee the Face of *Europe* overſpread with military Grandeur; and immenſe Bodies of Men, not call'd together as formerly, from the Plough, to make any ſudden Irruption, but conſtantly maintained and kept apart for the Purpoſes of War; their Time is employed ſolely in Exerciſes of this Sort, and they are trained up with exquiſite Skill in the Art of ſlaughtering their Fellow-Creatures.

The regular Forces of *France* in Time of Peace amount to about 200,000 Men, which if there be Occaſion are readily augmented to 300,000, or a much greater Number, out of their eſtabliſhed Militia. Let any one conſider how formi-

formidable theſe are to all neighbouring States: The Troops of the King of *Sardinia* at preſent amount to about 50,000 Men, which he maintains only in the Dutchies of *Savoy* and *Piedmont:* The late King of *Pruſſia* in the midſt of profound Peace kept up 100,000 diſciplin'd Soldiers, which are ſaid to be ſince conſiderably augmented by his Succeſſor; nor are theſe military Expences barely for Pomp and Ornaments; the Uſe that has lately been made of the *Pruſſian* Troops is evident to the World; and that the Soldiery of *France* are not merely deſign'd for Shew, hath been ſufficiently demonſtrated for this laſt Century, nor requires to be prov'd by their preſent perfidious Attack of the Houſe of *Auſtria.*

This being the melancholy Situation of Things, it is become abſolutely neceſſary for every State that would preſerve its preſent Exiſtence, to ſupport a conſiderable Body of diſciplin'd Troops; And the more ſo, ſince the only imaginable Reſource and Security of the Weaker, by forming defenſive Alliances and Confederacies, appears in *this Day* to be of no Effect. The moſt ſolemn Engagements are impiouſly violated; Dominions are ravaged by thoſe that have guarantied them; and the World at the ſame Time ſneeringly appeal'd to, for the *Purity* of the Ravagers Intentions.

It is indeed the Happineſs of a *Britain* to be ſurrounded by the Sea, which is our glorious Barrier and Defence; it is this that preſerves us ſecure from the perpetual Alarms which diſturb the Powers on the Continent, which if we were

join'd

joined to, we ſhould unavoidably be put to an immenſe Expence in ſupporting Fortifications and frontier Towns; and could not maintain our Rank and Security with leſs than 120,000 diſciplin'd Men, conſtantly kept up without any Remiſſion: But though we are free from preſent Alarms of Invaſion, and are Maſters of the moſt potent Navy that ever appear'd upon the Globe, yet let us not be too confident of our own Security. It is by no means impracticable for a Body of Troops to be landed in *Britain*, notwithſtanding the utmoſt Vigilance of our Fleet; Forces may be pour'd in upon us from Abroad by the ſame Winds that ſhall block up our own Ships in their Ports; the glorious Revolution and the Recovery of all our Rights depended chiefly upon this Contingency; And in the Reign of that heroic Prince our Deliverer, an Invaſion was twice determined to have been made upon us from *France:* The Tranſports were prepar'd, and the Troops appointed to each Expedition were ready to embark, but they were both wonderfully prevented; though the Hiſtories of that Time ſufficiently teſtify the Terrors we were under, and the Confidence of our Enemies, upon thoſe Occaſions.

The ſmall Embarkation at *Dunkirk* in the beginning of the Year 1708, caus'd the moſt dreadful Alarm amongſt us, and though the *French* did not venture to land in *Scotland*, yet our Fears were ſo great, that our public Credit was in the utmoſt Danger; the Government Securities prodigiouſly fell; and had the Expreſs from Sir *George Bing* of his arrival in the *Firth* of *Edinburgh*, and of the Retreat of the *French*, been

been deferr'd a few Hours longer, the *Bank* of *England* had been abſolutely ruin'd.

And however thoſe who deſire a Change, may ſet forth our Inland Strength, and proclaim us to be invincible; yet the real Sentiments of the moſt diſcerning Men are beſt diſcover'd by the Effects which Alarms of an Invaſion have upon our Public Credit; ſpecious Arguments are eaſily brought on either Side, either to prove our Power or Weakneſs: But the *Public Credit* is in ſome meaſure the *Pulſe* of the Nation; and however this may be ſlightly affected by accidental Diſorders, yet while it continues to beat high and regular in general, the Nation may be deem'd to be in a vigorous healthy State: Nor is it any Objection to this to ſay that the Riſe and Fall of our Public Stocks is continually influenced by *falſe*, as well as by *true* Reports. For this will be far from proving that their *Variation* is no *Index* at all; on the contrary it ſhews that it is the more *extenſive* one: And if any Report of an Event reſpecting ourſelves, whether founded in Truth or not, conſiderably lowers the Value of our Public Securities, it undeniably appears, that ſuch an Event is conſidered by the moſt wiſe and wealthy Part of the People, as a real Detriment to the Nation: And when it is thus conſidered, it evidently becomes ſo, by leſſening the Public Credit, and diminiſhing the Property circulating in the Kingdom.

This Matter will be more preciſely determin'd, by throwing it into the Form of the following Propoſitions,

PROP. I.

The Report of an Event reſpecting ourſelves, that is ſuppoſed to have actually happened, will have a greater or leſs Effect upon our public Securities, according to the Opinion that prevails, of the Truth of the Report, and of the Conſequences that will enſue from this Event.

PROP. II.

The Report of an Event reſpecting ourſelves, that is ſuppoſed not yet to have happened, but to be only in Agitation, will have a greater or leſs Effect upon our Public Securities, according to the Opinion that prevails, of the Probability that this Event will really happen, of the Succeſs of it in caſe it does happen, and of the Conſequences that will enſue, in caſe it is attended with Succeſs.

Of the former of theſe Sorts of Events is a Defeat or Victory; of the later any intended Enterprize or Attack: Upon which it may be obſerved, that if an *Event* of this *later Sort* happens, and inſtead of *advancing* our *Public Credit*, rather occaſions its *Declenſion*. *Such* an *Event*, however it may be recommended and applauded, is underſtood by the diſcerning Part of the Nation to contain no real publick Advantage; But it may probably be ſaid, to go on with the ſame Speculation, that it muſt however be admitted from this *ſmall Variation* of our public Credit, that this *Event* contains no very ill Conſequences. In order to examine into this, it will be neceſſary to obſerve the *Tendency*

dency of this *Variation*; and whether it be not towards a *Diminution* of the Value of our public Securities, rather than an *Advancement:* For if this ſhould be the caſe, it will ſufficiently demonſtrate that *ſuch* an *Event* has been detrimental in general; and why it has been no more ſo, is not at once to be attributed to its own *natural Harmleſsneſs*, if it ſhould *entirely ſucceed*; but perhaps to its being diſappointed of *total Succeſs*; as, ſuppoſe, by its *Extent* being *narrowed*, and by a *Check* being put upon *that part* of it, which is the moſt *malignant*.

Theſe are Speculations of an abſtract Nature, which the Reader muſt excuſe my falling into, though I confeſs they are not ſo peculiar, as they ſhould be, to the Subject of a Foreign Invaſion upon this Kingdom; A Point which I could wiſh was more coolly attended to; And that we were not ſo unreaſonably poſſeſſed with a Confidence of our own natural Strength, as to be perpetually railing at the Means, which ſeem abſolutely neceſſary to our Safety; And indeed whatever we may boaſt when our Enemies are quiet, our Alarm upon any Apprehenſions of their intending an Attack upon us, is as terrible as can be imagined; and plainly demonſtrates by the moſt ſenſible Effects upon our Public Credit, the real Opinion we then have of our own Weakneſs, and of the Probability of Succeſs againſt us. Her late Majeſty Queen *Anne* was much indiſpos'd the latter End of the Year 1713, and continued ſo the *January* following, when an Article was publiſh'd in the *Poſt-Boy*, that the *French* were equipping fourteen Men of War, with Tranſports to receive twelve or four-

teen Thouſand Men. Now though this was entirely a Fiction, yet the Dread of its Reality ſo affected the Nation, that in an Inſtant the Public Securities fell, and a prodigious Run was made upon the *Bank*, who call'd in Forty *per Cent.* from the Subſcribers to the circulating of the *Exchequer*-Bills, and deputed four of their Directors to wait upon the Treaſurer in this Exigency to repreſent the Danger they were under. The News was at length diſcover'd to be falſe, and ſo the Terror of the People gradually abated: But ſuch was our Dread at that Time upon the leaſt Surmiſe of an Invaſion.

I am ſenſible that the Illneſs of the Queen was alledg'd by ſome to occaſion this Shock of our Credit; and her Majeſty was induc'd to ſend a Letter from *Windſor* to the Lord Mayor of *London*, with an Account of her Health being more eſtabliſh'd: but, however this Suggeſtion that the Public Credit depended on Her Majeſty's Life might agreeably flatter the Queen, ſhe was, perhaps, the only Perſon in the Kingdom that really believ'd it, or imagin'd our Credit would ſuffer by her Deceaſe, provided the *Proteſtant* Succeſſion had been eſteem'd ſecure; ſo that the Shock we endured lay wholly upon the Suſpicions which were held of the *Tory* Miniſtry, and upon the Senſe of our real Inability to withſtand an Invaſion.

How much of this Evil was to be attributed to the general Opinion of the Miniſterial Attachment at that Time to the *Pretender*, is difficult for me to determine; let thoſe who were then in the Con-

Confidence of that Miniſtry, and are now proteſting their Fidelity, and taking Oaths, to the preſent Eſtabliſhment, point out this Quantity, and what Portion of this Evil was juſtly due to ſuch Apprehenſions; and the Remainder of it then muſt really ariſe from the general Senſe of our own Weakneſs: But, if they aver their Ignorance, and declare their Disbelief of ſuch Miniſterial Deſigns, or of any ill Effects on that Account, it will then come entirely to this, that the Shock of our Publick Credit at that Time, and the great Diminution of the Property circulating in the Kingdom, was ſolely owing to the Alarm of the *French* Invaſion, and the Conſciouſneſs we were under, upon its being attempted, of the great Probability there was of its Succeſs.

It could not but be very ſhocking to every *Engliſhman*, who reflected on the Glory of his Country a few Years before, and the Terrors of *France* from the *Britiſh* Troops, to view the Scene ſo quickly changed, to obſerve *Britain* dreading the Attacks of the *French*, and trembling at every Motion of their Troops; and it muſt powerfully convince him, that the Maintenance of a conſiderable regular Land-Force is at all Times requiſite to the Safety and Happineſs of his Country.

It is very well known that the chief Inducement to *Lewis the Fourteenth* to conclude the Treaty of *Reiſwick*, was in order to break the Grand Alliance, to have Opportunities of practiſing upon the Elector of *Bavaria*, who was Governor

vernor of the *Spaniſh Netherlands*, and in hopes that the Allies, particularly *Great Britain*, would diſarm, and weaken themſelves, while he ſhould at the ſame Time cheriſh and ſupport his own Troops in their full Vigour and Number, and of courſe be ready to ſeize the *Spaniſh* Monarchy upon the Demiſe of the King then regnant, before any tolerable Force could be brought againſt him. How well he ſucceeded in theſe Deſigns is ſufficiently known; our Great Deliverer was far from being inſenſible of them, but the Expence of the War being grievous to his People, he was deſirous of giving us ſome Reſpite; at the ſame Time warning us of the Views of the *French*, and pointing out the Neceſſity of our ſupporting a proper Body of regular Troops: But ſo great was the Malice of the *Tories*, and the Infatuation of the *Whigs*, that no more would be ſuffer'd to be maintain'd amongſt us than about ſeven Thouſand Men; though the *French* King had no leſs than three hundred Thouſand Veteran Soldiers under our Noſes; and Plots and Aſſaſſinations againſt our Glorious Monarch were perpetually concerted.

How greatly the Spirits of the *French* were hereby elated, is eaſy to conceive; and it muſt move the Indignation and Concern of every true *Engliſhman*, to reflect on their triumphing in the Tranſactions of our own Parliament, inſulting our Deliverer, and ſubduing the *Britiſh* Troops in St. *Stephen*'s Chapel, whom they could never fairly overthrow in the Field. It cannot be forgot what Ingratitude was ſhewn to our Glorious Prince, with reſpect to a few *Dutch* Guards;

Guards: his Majeſty had a generous Affection for Men, who had bravely fought by his Side from his very Youth, and had prov'd their Valour and Fidelity upon numberleſs Occaſions; he imagin'd they had ſome Merit likewiſe with *England*, if the Part which they bore in the Reſcue of our Laws, Religion, and Liberties, was to be thought ſo, and their peculiar Share in the important Victory of the *Boyne*. It was his Majeſty's Deſire therefore, that theſe gallant Men might be receiv'd amongſt our own Troops; but it was inſolently determin'd to thruſt them away: His Majeſty interceded for them, and acquainted the Commons, That he ſhould take it very kindly, if they might be permitted to ſtay amongſt us: and it is hardly to be believ'd that it ſhould be denied to our Glorious Deliverer, by thoſe People he had ſo lately reſcued: It was known that he had it nearly at Heart; and it could not be deny'd that the Nation was infinitely oblig'd to theſe gallant Men: but alas! theſe were *Objections*, inſtead of *Recommendations* with the *Tory* Leaders; and they gratify'd their Malice in mortifying his Majeſty, and putting a Diſgrace, to the utmoſt of their Power, upon thoſe who had ſo bravely acted for the Cauſe of Liberty, in almoſt every field of *Europe*. Such was the *Tory*-Gratitude to *William* the Third; but the Account is too melancholy to be long inſiſted upon, and muſt affect every generous Breaſt with the moſt tender Concern and Uneaſineſs. In ſhort, theſe Troops were unworthily torn from him, and left their Heroic General with Tears, but ſtepp'd from an ungrateful Land with Scorn and Deteſtation.

I am by no means inſenſible that the Reduction of the Army at that Time was concurr'd in by ſeveral well-meaning *Whigs*, and as heartily repented of afterwards. "I was (ſays a "noble Lord in the Year 1733) one of thoſe "who were the Cauſe of the Army's being re- "duced ſo low after the Peace of *Reiſwick*, per- "haps, I repented of what I did at that Time, "becauſe of the Turn that the Affairs of *Eu-* "*rope* took ſoon after." *Hiſt. Reg. Vol.* 18. *page* 256. His Lordſhip undoubtedly acted in that Buſineſs, as well as ſome other Gentlemen in Support, as they thought, of our Conſtitution; and imagin'd, as ſome *Whigs* do *at preſent*, that the *Tories* were all converted, and united with them in a ſincere Regard for our Liberties: but the Conſequence was almoſt fatal; the *French* ſeeing nothing at hand to oppoſe them, were tempted to ſeize the *Spaniſh* Monarchy; the Elector of *Bavaria* obſerving their Power, and the Weakneſs of other unguarded Nations, yielded into their Hands the *Spaniſh Netherlands*; and the immenſe Expence of Blood and Treaſure which was afterwards ſpent in attempting their Recovery, was chiefly owing to the fatal diſarming of ourſelves after the Treaty of *Reiſwick*.

It cannot be imagined by any Gentleman that *France* is leſs active or deſigning at preſent, than ſhe was then; or that we have leſs Cauſe now to be upon our guard; on the contrary our Circumſtances at preſent, even if it was a Time of Peace, require a much greater Number of regular Troops than they did formerly. Our Poſſeſſions of *Gibraltar* and

and *Portmahone*, *Annapolis* and *Placentia*, with other conſiderable Places more than formerly we enjoyed, neceſſarily demand not only a Body of Troops for their Garriſon, but likewiſe an additional Number at Home, ready to be diſpatched to their Relief upon any Occaſion, without leaving ourſelves unguarded.

To this there is to be added a further Conſideration, of the greateſt Conſequence, and that is, the large Increaſe of the *French* Shipping, it being certain that the Number of their Merchant Ships is of late prodigiouſly augmented; ſo that ſhould they under theſe Circumſtances determine to invade us, they will no more be at a Loſs for Tranſports, as they have been formerly, but may actually land any Troops they pleaſe upon us, before we have the leaſt Notice.

This I apprehend is a new Article of the utmoſt Importance againſt us, and loudly calls for the ſerious Attention of every true *Briton*.

It is our Happineſs at preſent, but may prove our Miſery, without a proper Guard, that Riches and Plenty abound amongſt us; and that every Part of our Country is capable of ſubſiſting a numerous Army. The open Cities and Towns that are ſpread throughout, are a great Temptation, and can make little Reſiſtance to a powerful Invader; and as the *French* are at preſent able to provide Tranſports ſufficient for a large Body of Troops, at four or five different Ports at the ſame Time, for ſo ſhort a Voyage as to *Britain* or *Ireland*, it ſeems next to impoſſible for us to block them all up, and prevent their

Embarkation, even under our preſent Superiority of naval Force; eſpecially if it be conſidered what Advantage may be taken of any Separation of our Fleet, or Abſence of a Part of it upon Convoys or other Emergencies.

It is indeed to be hoped that in *England* we are generally united in an hearty Attachment to the Proteſtant Succeſſion, in the preſent illuſtrious Family; however it is certain that we have many who are *lukewarm*, and not a few who are *real Jacobites*. In *Scotland* the Inclination of many Families are known to be favourable to the Pretender, and the *French* Intereſt; and the Multitudes of Papiſts in *Ireland*, greatly ſuperior to the Proteſtants, leave no room to doubt of their Wiſhes and Principles. It is the conſtant Buſineſs and Application of theſe to ſolicit foreign Attacks upon us, and they are ready to join any Force that ſhall be landed; and how great an Encouragement theſe Circumſtances are to an Invaſion upon us, I leave to every Gentleman that deſires our Welfare, calmly to reflect.

If a regular Force of twenty or thirty Thouſand Men, was embark'd for *Ireland* in Tranſports and Frigates from *Bourdeaux*, and at the ſame Time an equal Body for *Scotland*, from *Calais* and *Graveline*; whilſt a powerful Squadron of *French* Men of War at *Breſt*, and a Body of Land Forces encamp'd at *La Hogue* and *Diep* employ'd the Attention of the *Britiſh* Fleet, and kept them in the Channel; I ſay if we were thus attack'd, let every *Engliſhman* that loves his Country, think on the Conſequences of ſuch an Invaſion, and determine coolly whether a conſiderable

ſiderable Land Force is not always neceſſary for the Safety of *Britain*.

If in ſuch a Conjuncture likewiſe the Crown of *Spain* ſhould be againſt us, and join their Fleet to the *French*, our own Navy muſt continue in the Channel, and could ſcarcely venture to ſend any Detachments to *Scotland* and *Ireland*, without being inferior to the Fleet of the *Bourbon* Family. In this Situation likewiſe the *Dutch* might be aw'd by an Army upon their Frontiers, or otherwiſe entangled; whilſt the *Swedes* might be induced to join in the Invaſion upon *Scotland*, as the *Spaniards* naturally would in that upon *Ireland*.

I am by no means verſed in Plans of this Sort; but if it be eaſy for any one, the moſt unacquainted in ſuch Matters, to point out the Dangers we are continually ſubject to, without a ſufficient regular Land Force, it may well be imagined that Perſons, who are uſed to theſe Deſigns, will readily demonſtrate the Facility of invading us, upon much better Schemes; for it is not to be imagin'd that the *French* want Projectors; and I ſhall not be accuſed of inſtructing our Enemies, by thoſe who have our Welfare *truly* at Heart; on the contrary, ſuch will be juſtly alarmed at our great Weakneſs, and honeſtly concur in proper Meaſures for our Security.

It is ſufficiently obvious, that the landing of Troops from *Spain* upon the North of *Ireland* is ſubject to little Obſtruction; and the Difficulties Queen *Elizabeth* was involv'd in by ſuch At-

tacks the greateſt Part of her Reign, are abundantly recorded; they perplexed her Affairs, and exhauſted her Treaſury, more than all other Circumſtances together. It is likewiſe very well known, how eaſily King *James*, in 1690, was convey'd from *France* to *Ireland*, with a great Number of *Scotch* and *Iriſh*; and afterwards 5000 diſciplin'd *French* Soldiers were landed there under Monſieur *Lauſun*, and 5000 *Iriſh* returned to *France* in their Stead; we were then ſuperior at Sea, yet the *French* were at no great Difficulties in ſupplying their Troops in *Ireland* with Ammunition, and other Neceſſaries as far as they judg'd proper; and at laſt, when the Affairs of King *James* became deſperate there, they withdrew the ſame Troops again, with great Numbers of *Iriſh*, in ſpite of all the Attempts of our Squadrons; and tho' their Fleet before that Time had ſuffered ſo much at *La Hogue*; ſo that let no one imagine that the *Retreat* of our Invaders is abſolutely impracticable; But the Facility of their *landing* upon us is quite undeniable.

How we are to oppoſe them when landed, without a conſiderable Body of regular Troops, is difficult to be conceiv'd: it was generally admitted that the *Dutch* when they entred the *Thames*, and burnt our Ships at *Chatham*, might have ſent a Body of regular Troops into the City of *London*. King *James* in his intended Invaſion of us from *Calais* in the Year 1692, with about ſixteen or ſeventeen thouſand Men, deſigned upon his landing to have marched immediately to our Metropolis, being ſenſible he could meet with little Obſtruction; and it is very well known in his late Majeſty's Reign, that a ſmall Body

Body of Highlanders traverſed the greateſt part of this Kingdom without Oppoſition. The Behaviour of the *Weſtmoreland* Militia in this Buſineſs, who ran away at the firſt Sight of them, though encouraged by ſeveral experienced Officers, may ſufficiently open our Eyes; and the Confuſion and Terrors of undiſciplined People upon all theſe Occaſions, may fully convince us, how little we can depend on any thing for our Safety, but a regular Land Force.

The Power of our Navy, it is readily owned, is greater than ever; and it ought to be remembered with due Eſteem of the preſent Government, under whoſe Care it has been ſo highly advanced; but we quite deprive ourſelves of the beſt Effects of it, without a conſiderable Body of diſciplin'd Troops; for, with reſpect to other Powers, particularly *France*, we are now obliged to lie upon the Defenſive, and can only hope to protect ourſelves from being invaded, without any Ability to attack that Kingdom; I am not upon projecting *Conqueſts* of *France*; but I cannot apprehend the Policy of perpetually keeping ourſelves in a *harmleſs* Condition, with reſpect to that Kingdom. The Oppreſſion of their People in general, together with the great Diſcontent of the States of *Normandy*, *Britany*, and *Languedoc*, under the continual Abridgment of their Rights and Privileges, might probably occaſion ſufficient Diſturbances in thoſe Provinces, if they were well fomented and animated by a powerful Deſcent from hence; but they muſt ſee an *Ability* in us, and a due Spirit to ſupport them, before they can be expected to venture to purpoſe.

It is hardly to be imagined how tender the *French* Monarchy is in thoſe Parts, where there is a conſiderable Remnant of Proteſtants ſtill left; And upon a Deſcent from hence into *Britany*, and at the ſame time from *Ireland*, upon the Coaſt of *Languedoc*, in favour of thoſe People, it is much to be queſtioned whether the *French* Court would venture to truſt them with Arms, or to raiſe the *Arriere* Ban of thoſe Provinces. It is certain at leaſt, that they would be put to much Expence in fortifying and garriſoning Places on their Sea-coaſts, and in defending ſo vaſt an additional Frontier from Inſults; And the Terror of the *French* Court would be ſo great, that the Privileges and Abatement of Taxes they would grant on one hand, and the Augmentation of Charges they would be put to on the other, would conſiderably diminiſh the Strength of that Monarchy.

It is not to be forgot, that the Inſurrection of a few perſecuted Proteſtants in the *Cevennes* in the Year 1702, gave *Lewis* XIV, the utmoſt Uneaſineſs, and had it been properly ſupported by the Allies, might have had the moſt glorious Conſequences. There were Intentions indeed of this ſort in *England*, but they were all betray'd and came to nothing: Monſieur *Cavallier* the chief Commander of that brave People, in his Memoirs dedicated to Lord *Carteret*, thus expreſſes himſelf upon that Occaſion; *Page* 174, and 175. "The Truth is, I believe "*France* had then Emiſſaries in *England*, as it "uſually has, which put a ſtop to the Project "of Monſieur *Miremont*, and prevented the "Queen

" Queen and her Allies from making uſe of " ſo favourable an Occaſion to ruin *France*, " which might have been effected in leſs " than two Years; for being Maſters of the " Sea, they might eaſily have ſent us Suc- " cours, at leaſt ſome Arms and Money; " for had they ſent us but twenty thouſand " Pounds, we ſhould ſoon have made up a " Body of fifty thouſand Men; But as I ſaid " before, they looked on this War, as a ſudden " Blaze, which would ſoon vaniſh away, and " therefore neglected to ſend us any Relief; " and 'tis wonderful how we could reſiſt for " ſo long a time againſt twenty thouſand Men " and two Marſhals of *France*." And again, " If the Reader will ſeriouſly conſider the Ad- " vantage the Allies had by our War, he will " ſoon be perſuaded that if the twenty thou- " ſand Men who were ſent directly againſt us, " had been employ'd either in *Italy* or *Ger- " many*, or *Spain*, they would have put a ſtop " to the Progreſs of the Allies, eſpecially of " his Royal Highneſs the Duke of *Savoy*, or " in *Spain*, againſt the *Portugueſe*." And be- fore this, *Page* 155, he ſays, " The King was " fully reſolved to deſtroy us all at once, fearing " the ill Conſequences of this War; for truly " had the Allies been acquainted with the State " in which *France* was at that time, and accord- " ingly taken their Meaſures, they would pro- " bably have conquered all *France* in leſs than " two Years." This was a great Opportunity of weakning that inſolent Monarchy; but it was entirely loſt; By what Means, our Enemies can tell with Pleaſure.

I ſhall

I ſhall only obſerve, that when the Relief of theſe gallant People was generouſly propoſed in Council by her Majeſty Queen *Anne*, and Prince *George* of *Denmark*, it was ſtrongly oppoſed by Lord *Nottingham*, who repreſented the ill Conſequences of aſſiſting *Rebels* againſt their *natural Prince*; which, as I humbly apprehend, were very extraordinary Sentiments to be held by the Secretary of State of *England*, who was continually acquainted with the Practices of the Court of *France*, in endeavouring to raiſe up Rebellions in this Kingdom; and even to aſſaſſinate our Glorious Deliverer: however, it was determin'd to endeavour to ſupply them with Arms, Ammunition, and Money; but the Seaſon of the Year was far advanced, it being the 15th of *September* before the Ships for this purpoſe enter'd the Gulph of *Narbonne:* and there upon taking a *French* Tartane, they were informed by the Maſter of it, that Marſhal *Montrevell* had Intelligence of their Deſign, and had taken the neceſſary Meaſures to prevent it; * ſo that when they made the Signals from the Ships, which the Earl of *Nottingham*, who oppoſed the Relief, had been careful to direct from Court under his own Hand, they were none of them anſwered.

Monſieur *Cavallier*, in his Memoirs before mentioned, appears to have been quite unacquainted with the Arrival of any ſuch Ships, and not to have had the leaſt Notice of their ſailing; but intimates, that the Affair was ſo managed as to be a great Detriment to their People,

* *Boyer*'s Annals, Fol. Page 85.

by

by the Directions they received to be upon the Reſerve till the Arrival of Succours, " which " proved (ſays he, page 173) very prejudicial " to us afterwards; for it was then we were " beginning to get the better over our Enemies, " and our Remiſſneſs gave them time to take " Meaſures to ſtop our Progreſs."

The Truth is, by ſome Means, or other, we have little attended to ſupport any inteſtine Diviſions or Commotions in *France:* Our perfidious abandoning of the *Proteſtants* there, upon former Occaſions, before they were reduc'd to this Ebb, is a Reproach upon the *Stuarts* that can never be wip'd off; and the Guilt and Blood of it lies at their Door: But Circumſtances of this ſort in the preſent Times require to be nicely managed, and can no way be improved to much Advantage, without we have a conſiderable Body of Regular Troops at hand, which alone can convince the People of *France* of our power to give them Aſſiſtance. This is, perhaps, now the only Method of breaking the Strength of the *French* Monarchy, which is abundantly fortified on its *Inland-Frontiers*; and whilſt it has the whole Body of its People *within* undiſturb'd, will always be able to exert a prodigious Force at *theſe Extremities:* but an Attack by Sea in the Heart of its moſt fruitful Provinces, would interrupt its Commerce, and ſuppreſs its Revenues, and raiſe a *Spirit* in their People, which they might never afterwards be able to break; but all this it is in vain to think of, without we ſupport a ſufficient Land-Force.

Admitting the utmoſt that can be attributed to our Fleet alone; Allowing, though it is by no means true, that it can effectually guard our own Coaſts; is it not evident that our Weakneſs at Land muſt diminiſh its Force? for we muſt always reſerve our moſt potent Squadron at hand, for our own Defence againſt an Invaſion; and the *Remainder* is all that we can employ at any Diſtance; which, probably, may not exceed the *French* Squadron in the *Straits*, or *Weſt-Indies: ſo that our Weakneſs at Land actually deprives us of a Superiority at Sea.* This at the ſame time is ſure to create an *ignorant Clamour*; and the *Wiſdom* of a Miniſter in not leaving us *unguarded at home*, ſhall be branded for *Cowardice*; and the Squadrons that are reſerved for our *own Defence*, ſhall be *ridiculed*, and *ſtigmatized*, with being *pacifick*.

But Perſons who indulge themſelves in Reflections of this Sort, are little acquainted with our preſent Circumſtances. If they calmly conſider'd the Nature of *Publick Credit*, how eaſily it is affected in all places, how difficultly reſtored in any, and of what Conſequence it is to this Kingdom, they would ſoon apprehend the Importance of guarding againſt all Apprehenſions of the Stability of the Government, before every other Article whatever. It is eaſy to form Expeditions for five hundred Ships of War, if we had ſo many; and to propoſe *plauſible* Schemes for employing all our Regular Land-Force, if it was fifty times as great as it is: And I am ſenſible it is thought by

by ſome *projecting* Perſons, that we ought, in the Beginning of this War, to have diſpatch'd almoſt all our Fleet, and our experienc'd Regiments to the *Weſt-Indies*. This might have been done indeed, if our Regular Land-Force was at all numerous, and would admit of any Deduction for *foreign* Service, conſiſtent with our own *domeſtic* Security.

But if we had thus ventur'd in our *preſent* Circumſtances, and left the Nation expos'd with only eight or ten Thouſand diſciplin'd Soldiers, and a weak Squadron, the leaſt Motion of the Troops of *France* towards *Dunkirk*, *Calais*, or the Coaſts of *Normandy*, or *Britany*, would juſtly have given us the moſt ſenſible Alarm: And the Equipment of a *French* Squadron, or an Account of their collecting Tranſports together, would have immediately thrown us into the utmoſt Terror and Confuſion; have put a Run upon the *Bank* of *England*, and perhaps ruin'd it; and ſunk the Price of our Government-Securities almoſt to nothing; and thus have annihilated forty or fifty Millions of Property circulating in the Kingdom.

All this might have been brought upon us in *unguarded* Circumſtances by *France*, without their embarking a Regiment, or running any Hazard on their Part, but merely by carrying on hoſtile Appearances of a formidable Deſcent upon us: The Effects of miſtaken Rumours of this ſort in the Year 1713, which are before mention'd, ſufficiently demonſtrate it; and had any Confirmation then come of a real Preparation of Tranſports in *France*, and of an Appearance

of Troops ready to embark, we ſhould have ſuffer'd at that Time prodigious Miſchief; ſo much do we tremble at the Motions of *France* upon any Senſe of our own Weakneſs: And whoever conſiders the exceſſive Damage we ſhould hereby endure; the utter Stagnation of all Trade and Buſineſs, and the Ruin of Millions amongſt us; and ſuch a thorough Diffidence of our Government-Securities, from this Evidence of their Uncertainty, that our Public Credit might never recover its former Glory; I ſay, whoever conſiders the Miſchief we ſhould thereby be ſubject to, will be fully convinc'd, that our *Security at home* is the grand Point to be guarded by a *wiſe Miniſtry*; and that the leaſt *Apprehenſions* of it are not to be hazarded, for any Views of *diſtant Acquiſitions*.

It is far from my Intention to deny the Benefit of theſe Acquiſitions, if they can be made with Safety to this Kingdom; I am very ſenſible of the Value and Conſequence of them, and how much it is our intereſt to put ourſelves in a *proper* Capacity for making ſuch Conqueſts: but this I apprehend can only be done, by a right Augmentation of our Regular Land Force, ſo that we may have a *Surplus* ſufficient for any Expedition, above what is requiſite for our *own* Security; otherwiſe, if we venture our Troops from us, our *Risk at home* will be immenſely greater, than any *juſt Proſpects of Advantage abroad.*

It is certain indeed, that our Regular Land-Force of late hath been ſomewhat augmented, ſo

ſo that in Times of Peace the Wiſdom of the Legiſlature hath appointed, " That the Number " of effective Men to be provided, for Guards " and Garriſons in *Great Britain*, and for *Guern-* " *ſey* and *Jerſey*, ſhould be, (including 1815 In- " valids, and 555 Men, which the ſix indepen- " dent Companies conſiſt of, for the Service of " the Highlands) ſeventeen Thouſand ſeven hun- " dred and four Men, Commiſſion and Non- " Commiſſion Officers included:" And though the Wiſdom and Lenity of his Majeſty's Government have greatly promoted our Trade and Wealth, and advanced the public Credit of the Nation; yet thoſe, who have conſidered theſe Things, will be ſenſible that I am far from aſſerting too much, when I affirm that our public Credit could never have aroſe to its preſent Glory, without this Augmentation of our diſciplin'd Troops, whereby the Stability of the Government hath been better ſecured than formerly; and the People relieved from perpetual Dread and Alarms of Invaſions.

'Tis natural, I am very ſenſible, for Country Gentlemen to urge the Expence of our diſciplin'd Troops, and the Danger they bring upon our Liberties and Happineſs; and they mean well and honeſtly in it; But with the utmoſt Reſpect to theſe Gentlemen, I muſt beg leave to obſerve that they ſeem not fully to have conſider'd the preſent Cirumſtances of the Nation; our publick Credit is now interwoven with the preſent happy Eſtabliſhment; The Support of the Government, the Property of Millions, and the Continuance of our Trade and Manufactures depend upon this Credit; and it is certain that any conſiderable Reduction of our diſciplin'd Troops would

would immediately affect it; and that to diminish these Troops as low as they were after the Peace of *Reiswick*, which some Gentlemen are fond of, would destroy at least twenty or thirty Millions of Property in the Government-Securities, belonging to our most useful *Trading* Subjects; which would of course also proportionably lessen the Value of the *Landed Estates*; and thus we should annually lose immensely more by such a *Diminution* of these Troops, than we have ever yet paid for their *Maintenance*; so that the Argument from *Expence* is quite mistaken; as is that likewise from the *Danger* of our *Liberty* and *Happiness*; if they are allowed to depend, as they certainly must in a great Degree, upon the firm Establishment of our *Public Credit*.

It cannot be denied then, that our Maintenance of a considerable Body of disciplin'd Troops, is absolutely necessary to keep our Properties from continually fluctuating, to preserve our Trade, and to give Strength and Stability to the Government; at the same Time it must be own'd with equal Candour, that the Maintenance of such a Body naturally augments the *Power* of the *Crown?* What then is to be done? On *one* Side it is *prov'd*, that we are continually liable to *foreign Ravages*, and to perpetual Mischiefs from the *Dread* of them: On the *other* it is *fear'd*, that we shall lay ourselves open to *Tyranny at home*. It is necessary therefore to enquire into the present *Balance* of *Power* in this State between the *Crown* and the *People*; And if it shall appear, that the *Power* of the *Crown* is *increasing* at present, then an Augmentation of our Regular Land-Force, or any other additional Weight to the *Crown*, is justly to be dreaded by real Patriots; but if the

Power

Power of the *Crown* at preſent is ſwiftly *decreaſing*, we have then leſs Cauſe for Apprehenſions from *this Quarter*, and ought heartily to provide for our Security from *foreign Ravages*, though the neceſſary Means of making this Proviſion ſhould tend to increaſe the *Regal Power*.

This *Power*, I am ſenſible, hath been repreſented of late in a very formidable Light, particularly by the Author of the *Diſſertation on Parties*; And if Prejudices in general ought not to be ſtrictly ſuppreſſed, eſpecially in Matters of ſuch high Importance, I muſt needs acknowledge, that I ſhould be ſtrongly prejudiced againſt any Tenets recommended by this Writer; for is not this the Man that hath eſpouſed and betrayed all Parties, that broke the victorious grand Alliance, and preſerved the Power of *France* ſtill inſolent and dreadful? Is not this he that trampled under Foot all the Blood and Treaſure that had been ſo freely ſpent for the Liberties of *Europe*; that ſneer'd the brave and ſuffering *Catalans*; and hath always ſhewn the moſt determin'd Hatred to the Freedom and Happineſs of Mankind; but he is now alarming us with the Power of our own Crown; Hear his Words.

Page 235 of that Treatiſe, " Much more " might be ſaid concerning the *Increaſe* of " *Power* that the *Crown* hath acquir'd, and " muſt continue to acquire, according to the " preſent Conſtitution, and Management of the " Revenue. Much more might be ſaid to ſhew " that the *Power* of *Money*, as the World is " *now* conſtituted, is *real Power*; and that all " Power without this is imaginary: that the " Prince who gets *Prerogative* alone gets a " *Phan-*

" *Phantom*; but that he who gets *Money*, even " without *Prerogative*, gets ſomething *real*, and " will be as much ſtronger than his Neighbours, " and his *People* too, as he hath a greater Com- " mand of *Money*."

This ſeems at firſt to be a Paraphraſe upon *Harrington*'s Poſition in his *Oceana*, *That Dominion is founded only in Property*; and in the long Run this will always be found true, however it may happen upon ſudden Occaſions: But I muſt beg Leave to diſſent from one Aſſertion of this Gentleman's, *That the Prince who gets Prerogative alone gets a Phantom*; for *Prerogative* in *full Power* will command *Money*; as was always ſeverely felt, before it was reſtrain'd, in this Kingdom; particularly in *Loans*, *Benevolences*, and *free Gifts*, which the People were continually forc'd to grant, under the Terrors of its Power; being ſenſible, if they refus'd, they ſhould be otherwiſe haraſs'd with Amercements, on innumerable Pretences. The Fines and Compoſitions for *Scutage*, and *Knight-Service*, were an inexhauſtible Fund of Wealth to the Crown. *William* the Second order'd twenty Thouſand Men to be ready for his Service in *Normandy*; and when they were come to the Sea-ſhore, in order to be tranſported, allow'd them all to return home, upon paying him Twenty Shillings a Man. The Grants of *Monopolies*, and Exactions of *Ship-Money*, ſo late as in *Charles* the Firſt's Time, are known to every one; and, in ſhort, nothing is more evident, than that the *Prerogative* was ſo far from being a *Phantom*, as this Gentleman terms it, that it gave the Crown a *Power*, almoſt unlimited, over the *Lives* and *Properties* of the Subjects.

It is indeed for the *Purpoſe* of this Gentleman, who is repreſenting the *preſent Power* of the *Crown* as enormous, to conceal, as far as he can, every Branch of its *ancient Power*; and to ſet forth the Dread and Influence of the *old Prerogative* as quite imaginary: How falſe theſe Colourings are, is ſufficiently known to every judicious Lover of Liberty: nor can we ever be too ſenſible of the Bleſſing, of having the Prerogative confin'd within narrow Limits. But paſſing from this, I return again to the *Power of Money*; It is continually urg'd, that the *Power of the Crown* in this Reſpect is at preſent *increas'd*, and *increaſing* beyond all due Proportion: if it be ſo, I muſt freely acknowledge it to be a juſt Occaſion for Jealouſy in the People. But, before I examine into this, by ſtating the ſeveral Revenues of the Crown at different Periods, from the Reſtoration to his preſent Majeſty's Acceſſion, it is proper firſt to obſerve, that the Crown, before the *Revolution*, had the abſolute Command and Diſpoſal of the whole *ſtanding Public Revenue*, which was then all call'd the *Revenue of the Crown*, and reſerv'd any Part of it for its own Purpoſes and Deſigns; employing as little as it pleas'd, for the *honeſt* and *uſeful Purpoſes* of the Nation.

Such was the abſolute *uncontroulable Power* which the Crown had over the *Standing Revenue* before the *Revolution*; and upon calling a Parliament, is was eaſy to obtain, on various Pretences, a large additional Sum, the Diſpoſal of which was likewiſe entirely in the Breaſt of the Crown: But indeed, Miſmanagements of the

Government under the two *James's* and *Charles's* were ſo great, that theſe Princes were generally unwilling to meet a Parliament; however, upon giving any moderate Satisfaction to it, the Court almoſt always obtain'd whatever Aid they deſired: And, if we examine the Hiſtory of *Charles* the Second, we ſhall ſee large Sums continually procur'd from the People, and little, or ſometimes nothing, apply'd to the Purpoſes for which they were given: This Method he follow'd ſo cloſely in the firſt *Dutch* War, that when a Peace was only in View, before it was concluded, he neglected to fit out a Fleet, and left the Nation entirely defenceleſs; which brought upon us the *eternal* Reproach at *Chatham*; the Court pocketing *one Million, eight hundred Thouſand Pounds*, that was given for the Services of this War but about ſix Months before, and was then in Collection by a Poll-Tax and Monthly Aſſeſſment: But the Nation was then forced to bear it; for ſuch was the *Pleaſure* of the *Court* in thoſe Days, and its *Power of Money*.

The ſame Monarch, in the Year 1677, pretending to have real Intentions of declaring War againſt *France*, according to the Deſires of his People, began to levy Forces, and obtain'd *an Act for raiſing Money by a Poll, and otherwiſe, to enable his Majeſty to enter into an* ACTUAL *War againſt the* French *King*; when, at the ſame Time he was negotiating a Treaty by his Ambaſſador at *France*, for a Penſion of *three hundred Thouſand Pounds per Annum* from that Crown. This was diſcover'd to the Houſe of Commons by Mr. *Mountague*, who was that Am-

Ambaſſador; and prov'd by Letters which the King had underwritten with his *own Hand*; Whereby the Parliament found they were entirely impos'd upon, and that the King had obtain'd by the Bargain a large Sum of Money, and a numerous Army on Foot; which, as it was by no Means deſign'd for a foreign War, gave them juſt Apprehenſions, and it was their Buſineſs at any Rate to have theſe Forces disbanded: And thus the Parliament, which had a few Weeks before given a large Sum of Money for *raiſing* this Army, was now forc'd to provide another conſiderable Sum for *disbanding* it; and were glad to bring it to this Iſſue, without enquiring into the Diſtribution of the Money firſt given. All that they could inſiſt upon was, that the Sum to be levy'd for disbanding theſe Forces, ſhould not be intruſted with the Crown, but with Commiſſioners of their own appointing; nor could the Court, after ſuch manifeſt miſapplying of the Public Money, well oppoſe it in *this Inſtance*; But ſatisfy'd itſelf with *pocketing the greateſt Part of what had been before given for the Purpoſes of the War.*

This was the *Power* and *Conduct* of the *Crown*, with Regard to the *Public Revenue* before the *Revolution:* after which glorious *Æra* it was wiſely concerted, for the ſecurity of the People from perpetual Embezzlements of the Money appointed for Public Services, to allot a *ſeparate Income*, for the Houſhold of the King, and for maintaining the Honour and Dignity of the Crown, which is now uſually call'd the *Civil Liſt Revenue*; and to put the reſt of the *Public Revenues* entirely under the Command of the Parliament;

liament; and no more to leave them to the diſcretionary Diſpoſal of the Court. This likewiſe included in it not only the Command of the *Public Revenues*, but render'd at once all the *Public Services* of the Government entirely ſubject to the *Parliamentary Wiſdom* and *Direction*.

The *Crown* was thus inſtantly ſtripp'd of the greateſt Part of its *Power*; and the *Commons* acquir'd a *new* and *extraordinary* Weight on the Legiſlature. Every particular Service of the Government has from that Time been firſt ſubmitted to their Approbation in order to be provided for out of the Public Revenues: As every Step that concerns theſe Revenues muſt firſt proceed from the Commons; who, after they have examin'd and approv'd of the current Services for each enſuing Year, appoint the Manner of raiſing the Supplies, and appropriate them to thoſe particular Services only; the chief Buſineſs of the Crown, in theſe Reſpects, being to ſee to the Application of theſe Public Moneys according to their Appropriation; And at the next Meeting of Parliament, before any Supplies are granted, an Account of the Application of the Money given for the Services of the laſt Year, is now conſtantly ſubmitted to both Houſes.

This *Appropriation* of the Public Revenues is the great *Palladium* of our Liberties; Its importance is ſo high and valuable, that it ought to be generally underſtood and inculcated, and will eaſily excuſe any Repetition I may fall into, in enumerating its Advantages.

The firſt and moſt obvious Benefit of the *Appropriation* of the *Public Revenues*, is the de-

depriving the *Crown* of the *abſolute Power* of diſpoſing of theſe *Revenues* at its Pleaſure: For, though it may, perhaps, be imagin'd by ſome, That, notwithſtanding this *Appropriation*, the Crown can command theſe Revenues by the Means of corrupt Officers; It is certain that the Nature of theſe Services is ſo well known at preſent, and the Non-performance of them ſo eaſily detected. In ſhort, the Number of thoſe that are Checks, and muſt be privy and conſenting to every Fraud, are ſo great, That no Miniſter in his Senſes will attempt ſuch a Crime, nor any Prince in *theſe Days* offer to encourage or abet it; the Nature of the *original Contract*, and of the *reciprocal Obligation*, are too well underſtood at preſent by the People of *Britain*, to make theſe things paſs for *Jeſts*, as formerly: Nor would it be poſſible for the Court to prevent the Diſcovery of ſuch Wickedneſs, if it was committed; or being concern'd in it, to bear up againſt the Detection.

The ſecond great Benefit of theſe *Appropriations*, as hath been before mention'd, is the Neceſſity which it occaſions of having every Article of the Public Service ſubmitted to the *Diſcuſſion* and *Approbation* of the *Parliament*.

The third Benefit, and what can never be too much valued, is the *Method* of this *Appropriation*, which is made only from Year to Year, with Regard to the Supplies for the *current Services*; ſo that without the *Annual Meeting* of the Parliament, the *Navy*, *Army*, *Ordnance*, and all the

the other neceſſary Wheels of the Government, are entirely ſtopp'd. This is likewiſe abundantly ſtrengthen'd by the Method of granting theſe Supplies, ſo far as they conſiſt of the *Malt-Tax* and *Land-Tax*, which are given only from Year to Year; ſo that the *Annual Meeting* of the Parliament is become abſolutely neceſſary for the *Support* of the *Government*; whereby the Meaſures of the Court are continually examin'd, and any Grievances of the People laid open with ſuch Freedom and Weight, as will never ſuffer them to be long unredreſs'd.

This excellent *Improvement* of the *Power* and *Liberties* of the *People* is dear to every true *Engliſhman*; And to treat this with *Coldneſs* and *Contempt*, is the Conduct that deſerves the moſt ſevere Cenſure. It cannot but ſtrongly move our Indignation, to hear the former *unlimited Power* of the *Crown* over the *Public Revenues*, repreſented as a happier State of this Nation, than we enjoy at preſent; I leave it to the Reader to judge of the following Words, Page the 12th and 13th in a remarkable Pamphlet, entitled, *An Enquiry into the Conduct of our Domeſtic Affairs from the Year* 1721, *&c. Printed for H. Haines, at Mr. Franklyn's.* " Let us con-
" ſider a little the different Circumſtances of
" the Kingdom now from what it was former-
" ly; When our Kings had only *Occaſional*
" *Aids* and *Subſidies* granted them for immedi-
" ate Services, which ſoon ceas'd, the Collec-
" tion was by few *Officers*, and at *little Ex-*
" *pence*. As the Money was uſually given to
" carry on Wars undertaken by the Crown,
" and not in ſo liberal a manner, as *Supplies*
" have

" have been lately given, the *Scantineſs* of them " engaged our Princes to keep a very watch- " ful Eye over the Diſpoſition of the Money; " THERE BEING NO LONG CONTINUED " PARLIAMENTS in thoſe Days, ready to make " good all *Deficiencies* demanded from them; " NOR WAS THERE ANY OCCASION FOR " ACTS OF APPROPRIATION; The Neceſſi- " ties of the *Prince* were a continued Check " in that Caſe upon the Conduct of his *Mini-* " *ſters*; and their Miſmanagements ſeldom e- " ſcap'd his Reſentment: For it was *Himſelf* who " felt it more than his *People*."

" But the whole Frame of our Government is " ſince chang'd, with Reſpect to the *Method* and " *Manner*, as well as the *great Sums* of *Money* " rais'd upon the People. Our *Neceſſities* have " render'd *Annual Seſſions of Parliament* neceſſary, " for above forty Years paſt, in order to carry on " two very long and Expenſive Wars, againſt a " Power who threatn'd the Liberties of *Europe*."

This is ſuch an unjuſt and unthankful Repreſentation of the happy *Improvement* of our Conſtitution, ſince the Abdication of King *James*, as muſt give the utmoſt Diſguſt to every Friend to Liberty. Is it not ſurprizing at *this Time* to hear any Gentleman commend the Princes of this Kingdom before the *Revolution*, for not ſuffering Parliaments to meet? *There being*, ſays he, *no long continued Parliaments in thoſe Days ready to make good all Deficiencies demanded from them:* whereas it was the Reproach of the Reigns of the Four *Stuarts* before the *Revolution*, that they could ſeldom *endure* the

Great

Great Council of the *Nation*, or ſuffer'd it to meet; Is it then juſt to repreſent this Conduct of theirs, as a public Benefit? In ſhort, this Paragraph, as it carries an Applauſe of the *general* Behaviour of thoſe Reigns with Regard to Parliaments, is highly ſhocking; and, if it be referr'd to Particulars, is notoriouſly untrue: For, is there any thing more glaring in our whole Hiſtory, than the *long and continued Parliament* under *Charles* the Second? a Parliament ſo *corrupt*, and ſo *giving*, that the Pretences for asking Supplies, were only eſteem'd by the Court as *Formalities*; And little regarded in the *Application* of the Money; Hear the Words of a Gentleman, who liv'd in that Reign, and, in the latter end of it, thus recapitulated ſome Circumſtances in the Houſe of Commons; "I "remember when *Eleven Hundred Thouſand* "*Pounds* was given for building of Ships, and "not one Ship built; and above *Two Millions* "given to ſupport the Triple League, and "then it was preſently employ'd for the break- "ing of it; when *Twelve hundred Thouſand* "*Pounds* was given for an *actual* War with "*France*, when at the ſame Time we were un- "der all the Obligations for Peace, and ſo "continued." Afrer this, let the Reader determine, whether the Public Money was juſtly apply'd in thoſe Days; Or whether, as this Author aſſerts, *there was* THEN *no Occaſion for Acts of Appropriation.*

As to the *Frugality* and *Oeconomy* of *Charles* the Second, or indeed of any of the *Stuarts*, which he afterwards mentions; And that *the Miſmanagements of their Miniſters ſeldom eſcap'd their*

their Reſentment, it is as untrue as any thing in Nature; and known to be ſo, by every Child in Hiſtory; ſo that to offer to confute it ſeriouſly would be really ridiculous.

It is very unaccountable how a Gentleman of Senſe and Diſcernment, as the Author of this Pamphlet undeniably is, could ſuffer himſelf, to utter ſuch Doctrines; And it ſufficiently ſhews how liable we are to overſhoot our Mark, when we are too much agitated with Pique and Reſentment: How painful a Reſtraint muſt he have put himſelf under, and how ſeverely have check'd his own Spirit; when he ſpoke of the REVOLUTION in the following *flat* and *unanimated* Expreſſions; *The whole Frame of our Government is ſince changed, with Reſpect to the Method and Manner of it; as well as to the great Sums rais'd upon the People.* In the latter Part of which Sentence, he leaves an Impreſſion, of its having prov'd too *expenſive* and *burdenſom* to the Nation; which is the more extraordinary, and ſhews how far Paſſion is capable of hurrying us, ſince I am convinc'd, no one can leſs regret the Charges we have bore, in oppoſing the Arbitrary Deſigns of *France*, than this Gentleman; or more thoroughly abhor in his *cooler* Thoughts, any *unthankful Sentiment*, with regard to the *Revolution:* He adds, *Our Neceſſities have render'd Annual Seſſions of Parliament neceſſary.* To which I ſhall only ſay, that he has perpetually urg'd it himſelf, that we are in Danger, leſt the *Parliament* ſhould *not* be *annually* troubled about theſe *Neceſſities*; leſt ſome *future Raſh* and *Deſperate Miniſter* ſhould think the Government is

in *no Neceſſity* of *Annual Supplies* for the *current Services*; but ſhould attempt to provide for them out of the *Sinking Fund* and the *Salt Duty*. In ſhort, *Annual Seſſions* of *Parliament* are owing to the *Weight* of the *People* in the *Legiſlature*; and are not to be attributed to *our Annual Neceſſities for new Taxes*, which will not be admitted to *ſubſiſt*, when the *People* loſe that *Weight*; though, at preſent, it is certain there is very little Danger in *this* Reſpect.

I enter not into the reſt of this Pamphlet, which is very diſtinctly anſwer'd in an excellent Treatiſe *, which I recommend to the Reader to peruſe; but, as it appears, from this *Specimen* of the Tract I have quoted, that it is dictated by too *warm* and *agitated* a Frame of Temper; ſo I muſt acknowledge the Spirit and Vivacity of it, which this Gentleman has the peculiar Happineſs of preſerving, through Details of Accounts, and ſuch Repreſentations, as are flat and tedious in all other Writers.

I beg Leave next to ſubmit to the Reader the Words of *The Diſſertation on Parties*, Page 222. " Formerly (by which he means before the " *Revolution*) the whole Expence of the State " was born by the *Crown*; and when this Ex- " pence grew upon extraordinary Occaſions too " great for the *Revenue of the Crown to bear*, " the People aided the Crown, if they approv'd " the Occaſions of the Expence. Theſe Grants " were properly *Aids*, no more; for the *Reve-*

* *Some Conſiderations concerning the Public Funds, the Public Revenues, and Annual Supplies, &c. Printed for J. Roberts.*

" *nue*

" *nue of the Crown* was engag'd in the firſt " Place, and therefore it might ſeem reaſon- " able, that the Crown ſhould have the Levy- " ing and Management of the *Whole*; of *theſe* " *Aids*, as well as of the *Standing Revenue:* " but it happen'd in this Caſe, as it does in ma- " ny; the *Reaſon* of *the Thing* ceas'd, and the " *Thing* continued: A ſeparate private Reve- " nue, or *a Civil Liſt*, as we commonly call " it, was aſſign'd to the Crown. From that " Time the former Order hath been revers'd; " our Kings, inſtead of contributing *moſt*, have " contributed *Nothing* to the Public Charge: " and the People of *Britain*, inſtead of giv- " ing occaſionally Aids to the Crown, have " taken upon themſelves the whole Load of " ordinary and extraordinary Expences, for " which they annually provide."

This Paragraph is loaded with Malice, and falſe Inſinuations; the Drift of it is to perſuade his Readers, that the Crown, *ſince* the *Revolution*, is greatly eaſed from Incumbrances on its Revenue, and that the People have taken a new Burden upon themſelves; His Argument ſtands thus:

The Crown, *before* the *Revolution*, bore all the *ordinary* Expences of the Government; the Crown, *ſince* the *Revolution*, bears none of them; therefore the Crown, *ſince* the *Revolution*, is unreaſonably eas'd, and the People incumber'd.

Now would not any one imagine, that the *Revenue of the Crown* was the *ſame* in both Caſes, and that no Author, in *common Honeſty*, would otherwiſe urge this Argument to his Readers;

for if the *Revenue* of the Crown, *ſince* the *Revolution*, be extremely leſs than it was *before*, it is *impoſſible* for the Crown to contribute to the Public Charge, if it was its Duty, as much as it could formerly; and the whole Argument falls to the Ground.

But nothing is more certain, than that the Revenue of the Crown under *James* the Second was upwards of Two Millions *per Annum*; and under *George* the Firſt only Seven hundred Thouſand Pounds. This the *Diſſertator* was ſenſible, that many are unacquainted with; And to ſuch as are ignorant of it, which are nineteen in twenty of his common Readers, his Argument appears irreſiſtible: And they apprehend there is juſt Cauſe for being jealous of the Encroachments of the Crown. Thus he ſucceſsfully propagates Uneaſineſs; — But is this a fair way of dealing with Mankind? Or an honeſt and virtuous Method of oppoſing any Adminiſtration?

This may deſerve to be more fully explain'd, though I have before enter'd into it: The Parliament, after the *Revolution*, being ſenſible of the perpetual Miſapplication of the Revenue, whilſt it was under the *unlimited Power* of the Crown, wiſely determin'd to come to a fair Explanation of this Buſineſs; and to fix, what Part of the Revenue *ſhou'd*, and what Part *ſhou'd not*, be in the Power of the Crown to apply to its own particular Expences and Purpoſes; accordingly, ſuch a Part of the Revenue, as they judg'd reaſonable, was allotted for the Maintenance of the King's Houſhold, and ſupporting the Honour and Dignity of the Crown: This is the *private Revenue of the Crown*, which

is

is uſually call'd the *Civil Liſt*; all the reſt of the Revenues the Parliament obtain'd the Power of appropriating and directing to the Public Services, according to their own Wiſdom and Diſcretion, without leaving them, as formerly, to the abſolute Power of the Crown. This was a Point of the utmoſt Importance gain'd by the People: nay, it is probable, its Extent was hardly perceiv'd at firſt; though it is now undeniably ſeen to be the grand Barrier of our Liberties; and is ſuch a new and effectual Weight in the *popular* Scale of Power, as, if I am not greatly miſtaken, is far from being over-balanc'd by any thing in the *Regal*.

But to return, it is evident that the Crown, at preſent, inſtead of having the *whole Public Revenues* to range in, and to apply to its own private Purpoſes, as formerly, is entirely confin'd, if I may be pardon'd the Expreſſion, to a *particular Salary*. It is not to be expected, therefore, or deſired, that the Crown ſhould allot any Part of this *Salary* to the *Public Services*, which is expreſsly allotted for its own *private Uſes*. That Part of the Revenue, which the Crown formerly allotted, or rather *ſhou'd have allotted*, to the Public Uſes, is now taken from the Crown, and allotted to theſe Uſes by the Parliament. Is it reaſonable therefore? Is it poſſible for the Crown, at preſent, to take the Burden of the Public Charge on itſelf, as formerly? Yet this is the *Complaint* of this Author; And tho' we are ſure, *ſince* the *Revolution*, which we never were *before*, that the Revenue, which ought to be apply'd to the Public Services, is not uſurp'd by the Crown; yet this is his *Inſinuation*. In

ſhort,

ſhort, ſuch falſe and diſingenuous Suggeſtions, calculated to impoſe on the Ignorance of his Readers, and to propagate groundleſs Uneaſineſs, are to be deteſted by every Man of Candour and Virtue; and ſufficiently demonſtrate, that this Author was actuated by *another Spirit*, than the *Spirit of Truth and Liberty*; notwithſtanding his *forward Pretences* in this Treatiſe.

The reſt of this Paragraph carries on the ſame Sort of Complaints and Inſinuations againſt the preſent Power of the Crown; this is indeed the peculiar Talent of this Author; He excels in a Method of ſlurring over Facts, and leaving the moſt uneaſy Impreſſions upon his Readers, even when the real State of theſe Facts ought juſtly to convey contrary Sentiments; of which the reſt that he offers upon this Subject is a very Extraordinary Specimen: "Notwithſtanding "this vaſt Alteration in the State of the Re- "venue, and the Intereſt of the King and the "People, in the Management of it, the ſame "Forms of granting *Aids to the Crown*, and "of levying *Taxes*, and of managing the *Pub-* "*lic Treaſure*, have been continued; ſo that "the People ſtand oblig'd (for the Crown, "that is truſted with the *Whole*, is bound for "*nothing*) to make good all *Deficiencies*, though "they have no Share in the Management of "the *Revenue*."

It is plainly intended, by this Paragraph, to create ſome dark Jealouſies in the Reader, about the *ſame Form of levying Taxes being continued, notwithſtanding a vaſt Alteration*; *and about the Crown's being bound for nothing*, with other *ter-*

rifying

rifying Insinuations. I make no Question but these Words have had that malicious Effect, which the Author design'd; and yet they really contain no other Information than what follows, as the Reader will immediately see, if he pleases to be at the Trouble to make the Comparison: *Notwithstanding the Crown is thus limited in its own Expences to the Civil List Revenue, yet Taxes and Aids continue to be rais'd, as formerly, by Act of Parliament: And they are still granted, after the old Form, to the King, though they are appropriated to public Uses; so that the Parliament provides for all that is wanting for these public Uses: for it is impossible for the King to do it, who has only his Civil List, though the Executive Power is still left in the Crown.*

This is the whole Substance of this Paragraph; but he has thrown it into such Words himself, as must alarm any ordinary Reader, and suggest to him very melancholy Apprehensions: At the same Time, though he insinuates the utmost Mischief, he plays so loose, that nothing can well be fix'd upon him; acting like an *Irish* Rapparee, who is continually seen, but whenever you advance to attack him, retires into his Bogs, and vanishes, not daring to maintain his Ground, like a fair and manly Enemy.

He goes on upon the same Subject, " Our " Kings, since the Establishment of the Civil " List, have not only *a private separate Estate*, " but receive a kind of *Rent-Charge* out of " the *Public Estate*, to maintain their *Honour* " *and Dignity*, nothing else." Now here the Reader may understand, if he pleases, that the Crown

Crown has not only a *private Eſtate*, but a *Rent-Charge* upon the Public Eſtate *beſides*. It has been the Care of this Author to expreſs himſelf ſo, that any one ignorant of the Matter before, wou'd thus underſtand it; *Not only*, ſays he, *a private ſeparate Eſtate, but receive a Kind of Rent-Charge to maintain their Honour and Dignity*, NOTHING ELSE. What ELSE wou'd he have it for? The Parliament have given it *only* for THIS; they have thought ſuch a Revenue requiſite for *this Purpoſe only*; the Parliament likewiſe annually give the reſt of the Revenue to the *Public Uſes only*; or, according to his Phraſe, to the Public Uſes; *nothing elſe*. If he thinks no ſuch Rent-Charge ſhou'd be given to the Crown, why does not he ſay ſo, and produce his Reaſons; Inſtead of dropping mean Inſinuations, without fairly ſtanding to any Circumſtance.

It is neceſſary to add the Remainder of his Paragraph upon this Subject; wherein the Reader will ſee the ſame Deficiency of *real Objections*, and the ſame Abundance of *falſe Inſinuations*. " And whether the *Public Eſtate* thrive, or not, " *this Rent-Charge* muſt be made good to them; " at leaſt as it hath been ſettled *on our preſent* " *moſt gracious Monarch*; If the Funds appro- " priated produce the Double of that immenſe " Revenue of *Eight Hundred Thouſand Pounds* " *a Year*, which hath been ſo liberally given " him for Life: the Whole is his, without Ac- " count; but if they fail in any Degree to " produce it, the *entire National Fund* is en- " gag'd to make up the Difference: But al- " though our *Kings* have thus no longer any " immediate Intereſt in the *Public Eſtate*, they " are

" are truſted with the entire Management of it ;
" they are not only *Stewards for the Public*,
" but they condeſcend to be ſuch for *all thoſe*
" *private Perſons*, who are the *Creditors of the*
" *Public*, and have the additional Trouble of
" managing about *Three Millions a Year* on this
" Head."

The firſt Part of this Paragraph ſuggeſting the Enormity of his preſent Majeſty's Civil Liſt Revenue, I ſhall anſwer hereafter, when I treat of this Revenue: But his Aim, in the latter End, is to inſinuate, that the Crown ought to be deprived of the *Executive Power*, and only to be intruſted with the *Adminiſtration* of its own *Civil Liſt Revenue*. This he has before ſtrongly urg'd, and laid down his Reaſons, why the Crown ought not to be truſted, *at preſent*, with this Power, though it ought *formerly*.

But as this is a Subject of the utmoſt Conſequence, I deſire to give his Argument, as it is drawn up in his own Words; though I have before conſider'd them, with Regard to another Point: " Formerly (ſays he) the whole Ex-
" pence of the State was born by the Crown;
" and when this Expence grew, upon extra-
" ordinary Occaſions, too great for the Reve-
" nue of the Crown to bear, the People aided
" the Crown, if they approv'd the Occaſions of
" the Expence. Theſe Grants were properly
" Aids, no more; for the Revenue of the
" Crown was engag'd in the firſt Place, and
" therefore, it might ſeem reaſonable, that the
" Crown ſhou'd have the Levying, and Manage-
" ment of the whole of theſe Aids, as well as
" of the ſtanding Revenue."

This Argument in the ſtrongeſt Terms ſtands thus;

Formerly, the whole *Ordinary* Expences of the State were born by the Crown.

Upon *Extraordinary* Occaſions it was indeed ſometimes aided by the People.

But as the Crown took upon itſelf the *whole Burden*, it was but juſt it ſhould have the *whole Management*.

The Fallacy of this Argument lies in not rightly diſtinguiſhing about the *Revenue of the Crown*; before the *Revolution*, the whole ordinary Revenue of the State was in the Power of the Crown, and call'd the *Revenue of the Crown*, without any Diſtinction of what was to be allotted for the *Civil Liſt*, and what for the *current Service*. After the *Revolution*, the Civil Liſt only became the *Revenue of the Crown*; ſo that the Argument of this Author is really reduc'd to what follows:

Formerly, there were no Boundaries fix'd to the Expences for the *Civil Liſt*, and for the *current Services*, the whole *Ordinary* Revenue of the State being then under the uncontroulable Power and Management of the Crown.

Therefore the whole *Extraordinary* Revenue of the State ought to have been under the ſame uncontroulable Management likewiſe.

This is to convince every one, that the Crown was more juſtly entitled to the executive Power for-

formerly, than at preſent; and is a juſt Specimen of the profound Reaſoning of this *all-accompliſh'd Writer*.

What he alledges about the *Burden* on the *Revenue of the Crown* formerly, is exactly of the ſame Texture; that is, a mean Attempt to impoſe upon his Readers, by concealing from them, that this *Revenue before* the *Revolution* included the *Civil Liſt* and *current Services*; and ſince included the *Civil Liſt* only. —— But it is neceſſary to add ſomething more concerning the *executive Power*.

That this Power in the Crown ſhould be *limited*, as at preſent; particularly, that the Public Revenues ſhould be *appropriated* by Parliament, is juſt and requiſite; and a great Improvement of our happy Conſtitution: But to take any principal Part of this Power entirely from the Crown, and to lodge it, for the future, in other Hands, uncontroulable by the Crown, will be, in Reality, to create two *ſupreme independent executive Magiſtracies* in the ſame Government; the Abſurdity of which is ſufficiently evident. I ſay nothing of the *Expence*, though this muſt be very conſiderable, to ſupport any ſuch *independent executive Power* in *new* Hands, with proper Dignity: but, from the Nature of Things, this *new Magiſtracy* will immediately *rival* the *Crown*; and fix what Limits you pleaſe to their reſpective Juriſdictions, they will quickly claſh together, and in a little Time bend their Force to obſtruct and ſuppreſs each other; whereby the Wheels of Government will be entirely ſtopp'd, till one of them becomes at

length ſubſervient to the other; in which Caſe the *Supreme executive Power* will again be lodg'd in *one Corporation* only. If this ſhould be the *new Magiſtracy*, which, by ſuppreſſing the *Regal Authority*, ſhould at length entirely prevail; Who can tell, in the violent Contentions and Struggles for Superiority between *This* and the *Crown*, (which muſt always continue till one of them is entirely ſubdued,) what *diſtorted Model* the Government of this Iſland may be *preſs'd* into? Or, moſt probably, it will, at length, be thrown into the Arms of one powerful reſolute Perſon, without any Limitations.

On the other hand, if in the Struggle the *Crown* ſhould become the Conqueror, it muſt, in Order to this, become ſo powerful, as to break through all Reſtraints whatever, whereby we ſhall inevitably fall under an *abſolute Monarchy*; and this, indeed, will probably be the *laſt Reſult*, whatever Side ſhall obtain the Victory.

It appears then from *Reaſon*, as it does from all *Experience* in Hiſtory, that two *ſupreme independent executive Magiſtracies* can never long ſubſiſt together in one State; and therefore, to deprive our own Crown, for the future, of any principal Part of the *executive Power*, ſuch as the Collection and Diſtribution of the Public Revenues, according to the Inſinuation of this Author, would unavoidably occaſion the moſt violent Convulſions in this Nation, and ſoon end in the Loſs of all the *long preſerv'd*, *long envy'd* Liberties of *Britain*.

To

To consider the Consequences of this Author's Insinuation in another Light;——If the *Crown* was depriv'd of the principal Part of the *executive Power*, it would immediately lose the greatest Share of its *Weight* and *Authority*, and of its USEFULNESS likewise to the State; for the Crown is to be consider'd now, as vested with the *Supreme Magistracy*; To support which with proper Grandeur and Dignity, at the Head of so great and wealthy a People, and to be a proper Balance to the Legislative Power, a considerable *Civil List Revenue* is justly allotted: But, if you take away the *Employment* of the Crown, and make it only a *Sine Cure*, so that the Possessor of it shall no more be the *Supreme Magistrate*, what will be the Consequences? Will it not justly be said, that the *Civil List* was *originally* design'd and appointed for supporting the Dignity of the *Supreme Magistrate*, and to attend upon him? That whilst this Magistracy was vested in the Crown, such a Revenue might have been *properly* allotted to it; But that it was by no means reasonable, while the State labour'd under great Difficulties, to allow so large a Sum for the Support only of an *useless Pageant*.

Thus the Reason and Foundation of this Revenue no more subsisting, it will be impossible for the Crown to avoid yielding up some Part of it to the Public; especially, its Weight and Influence being gone away with the Supreme Magistracy: And this *first* Diminution of the Revenue of the Crown will still *further* abridge its Weight and Influence, and of course render a *second* Diminution of its Revenue more easy. Let it be consider'd now where this is to stop; the

the *Name* of *Monarchy* will then be all that will continue of it amongſt us; and that only, perhaps, but a little while; And I deſire to know from any one, that is wiſe enough, what *Frame of Government* we ſhall then be reſolv'd into; for it is evident, that to deprive the *Crown* of any conſiderable Part of the *executive Power*, will thus unavoidably *run* us out of our *preſent Conſtitution.*

Theſe Political Tenets and Inſinuations of the *Diſſertator* being thus expos'd, I come next to conſider the *Power of the Crown over Money*, or its *Pecuniary Power and Influence*, at different Periods ſince the *Reſtoration*; But it is firſt neceſſary to detect another Artifice, carry'd on of late with much Diſingenuity by ſeveral Authors; they lay it down as a neceſſary Conſequence, that, becauſe the *Income* of the Crown is greater *now*, than at any Time *ſince* the *Revolution*; therefore, that the *Pecuniary Influence* of the Crown is greater; which by no Means follows; unleſs it can be ſhewn, that the *Income* of the People hath not been equivalently increas'd in the ſame Time; for if the Annual Income of the Crown, and of the People, ſet out in any Proportion to each other, and you double both, the ſame Proportion between their Incomes is ſtill preſerv'd; nor will the Pecuniary Influence of the Crown become *greater* thereby than before; though theſe Gentlemen, according to their Method of arguing, would not fail to repreſent it to be *double:* On the contrary, that this Influence would be *leſs* than before, ſeems to me evident; and that the following Propoſition holds true in Politics.

Pro-

Propoſition.

If the INCOME of the CROWN, *and of the* PEOPLE, *be reſpectively doubled, trebled, or equally augmented to any Amount; though the* WEALTH *of the* CROWN *will be ſtill in the ſame Proportion to the* WEALTH *of the* PEOPLE, *as before; yet the* POWER *and* INFLUENCE *of the* CROWN *will not be ſo conſiderable, as before, but will be much diminiſh'd.*

This I ſhall endeavour to prove, by the following Inſtance: Suppoſe a certain Manour to be wholly poſſeſs'd by the Lord of it, and one Thouſand Cottagers; the Lord having Five Hundred Pounds *per Annum*, and each of the Cottagers Ten Pounds *per Annum*; the Proportion then of his Income, to any one of theirs, is *five hundred* to *ten*, or *fifty* to *one*; and he is certainly very great and powerful, in Compariſon to any of theſe; it will be eaſy for him to bribe, or to ruin, as many as he pleaſes.

Let now the Rents of the whole Manour be uniformly rais'd, by real Improvements, ten times as high as before; then will the Lord of it enjoy *Five Thouſand Pounds per Annum*, and the COTTAGERS will all become FARMERS of *One Hundred Pounds per Annum* Freehold each: Let it now be conſider'd what Sort of *new* People the Lord has about him: Every one of theſe Farmers poſſeſs'd of One Hundred Pounds *per Annum*, will juſtly look upon himſelf to be in a great meaſure independent, and will neither be led, nor drove, as formerly; It is not eaſy to ruin any of them; And, as they will ſoon be

ſenſible,

ſenſible, that they have new Characters and Fortunes, it will be very difficult to awe or bribe a Majority of them.

Again, if a Number of them unite together in any common Cauſe, they are able to form a Purſe amongſt themſelves, and make a powerful Oppoſition to any of his Deſigns; whence he will ſenſibly find, that, *though his Income bears the ſame Proportion to theirs which it did before, his Weight and Power, inſtead of being the ſame, are conſiderably diminiſh'd.*

This is eaſily referr'd to the *Crown* and the *People*; And the Reaſon of this Effect from a *general Increaſe* of Property, will clearly appear, by examining into the Nature of POWER, and wherein it is conſtituted.

Now this ſeems to me to be near the Truth;

The POWER *of the Crown, and the* POWER *of the People, are to each other, in Proportion to their reſpective* ABILITIES, *and to their* DISPOSITION *and* ADVANTAGES *for employing them againſt each other.*

The ABILITIES of each, depend chiefly upon the *Superfluity* of their reſpective Incomes, over and above the Expences, which they *make* neceſſary to themſelves.

In moſt Countries, therefore, the ABILITIES of the whole *People* collected together, are greater than thoſe of the *Crown*; But then it is evident, that the *Crown*, by its *Unity*, *Prerogative*, and *executive Power*, has more ADVANTAGES for

for employing its ABILITIES, in order to gain an abſolute Superiority; and under many Reigns has been found to have more DISPOSITION for doing ſo, than the *People*.

Theſe Principles will appear more plainly, by examining again the foregoing Inſtance: When the Cottagers had no more than Ten Pounds *per Annum* each, their whole Income, Care, and Thought, was employed to provide themſelves Food and Neceſſaries: Their whole Scheme then was to keep themſelves from ſtarving; and all they could procure was juſt ſufficient for that purpoſe only: But every *Addition* to this Income was a clear Acquiſition of Strength to them, and gave them Abilities to procure, and defend other Enjoyments; whereby, according to what is laid down above, *Superfluity* appears to be the Foundation of all their *Abilities*: And *This*, which was before *peculiar* to the Lord of the Manour, is now *common* to thoſe that were the Cottagers; But his Income being to all theirs collectively, as Five Hundred to Ten Thouſand, or as One to Twenty, it is evident, if the whole Income of the Manour is increaſed in the ſame proportion, that for every ſingle Pound extraordinary that he obtains, they acquire amongſt them all Twenty Pounds; ſo that they immediately gain upon him vaſtly in *Ability*; for, though there is the ſame proportion ſtill preſerved between the whole Amount of his Income, and the whole Amount of theirs, yet there is by no means the ſame proportion continued between the Amount of their reſpective *Superfluities*, wherein their *Abilities* conſiſt; it being apparent, that the Advantage he had over

them at firſt, in this Reſpect, was infinite, if you ſuppoſe they had no Superfluity at all; for then, admitting One Hundred Pounds *per Annum* to be the narroweſt Bounds he could contract himſelf within; his Superfluity is to theirs, as

400 to 0, or infinitely greater.

But upon doubling their Incomes, the Caſe is alter'd, and his Superfluity is to theirs, only as	900 to 10,000 or 1 to 11 nearly.	10,000 *l. per An.* being requir'd for their Neceſſaries.
Upon quintupling their Incomes, it is as	2400 to 40,000 or 1 to 17 nearly.	
And upon decupling their Incomes, his Superfluity is to all theirs collectively, as	4900 to 90,000 or 1 to 18 $\frac{3}{5}$ nearly.	

And if all their Incomes be continually augmented in the ſame Manner, the *Superfluity* of the Lord, in proportion to all theirs, will conſtantly be diminiſhed, and decline nearer and nearer to the proportion of 1 to 20.

As therefore by this uniform Increaſe of Property, the Cottagers gain upon the Lord in *Ability*, which is the chief conſtituent Article of *Power*; ſo will they likewiſe in another, that is in their *Diſpoſition* for employing this *Ability*: For their Senſe and Spirit will riſe with their Property, and they will ſoon aim at the third Article of *Power*, the procuring *Advantages* to themſelves, for employing their *Ability* in the beſt manner upon any Occaſion.

Thus, if I miſtake not, it undeniably appears, that the Power of the Lord, with reſpect to the Cot-

Cottagers, will be conſiderably diminiſh'd by a general uniform Increaſe of the whole Property of the Manour: And, if this be referr'd to the Crown and the People of this Kingdom, which is only a *larger Manour*, it will hold equally true, and fully demonſtrate the Reaſonableneſs of the foregoing Propoſition.

This being ſo, I proceed next to enquire into the reſpective *Incomes* of the *Crown*, and of the *People*, and of the *general Increaſe* of *Property* amongſt us, at different Periods, from the Reſtoration to his preſent Majeſty's Acceſſion: And if the *Income of the Crown* hath only been *proportionably* augmented to the *Income of the People*, it muſt be admitted that the *Power of the Crown* is conſiderably *diminiſh'd*; But, if this *Income* hath by no Means been increas'd *proportionably* to the increaſing *Income* of the People, it will appear what little Foundation there is for Suggeſtions, that the *Power* of the *Crown* is become *enormous* of late, and ready to devour the *Rights* of the *People*. On the other hand, it may, perhaps, bring ſome ſerious Reflections into the Mind of THOSE, who *ſincerely* mean the Welfare of their Country, but are ſpirited up, and eager for ſome *Chace*, whereever their *Leaders* ſhall direct the Cry, and urge on their Fury: THESE GENTLEMEN, it is to be hop'd, will at length heſitate, and coolly conſider where they are driving to, or are rather drove by their *haughty Rulers*; And, as there is a *Point* to which the Power of the People ought juſtly to arrive, that their Freedom and Happineſs may be well ſecur'd; ſo every Advancement beyond this, directly tends to involve us in

Confuſion, and to overthrow the *juſt Poiſe* of our Government,——Unleſs the *increaſing Ability* of the People be rightly temper'd with a *new Moderation*, and a juſt Senſe of the Felicity of their *preſent Situation*, without graſping at all *Dominion* and *Authority*; for that there is a very *extraordinary Increaſe* of *Ability* in the People, I believe will immediately appear; and that our *Tendency at preſent*, unleſs it be rightly *moderated*, lies much ſtronger to *Democracy*, than to *abſolute Monarchy*.

The Parliament, at the *Reſtoration* in 1660, voted, that *Twelve Hundred Thouſand Pounds per Annum* ſhould be ſettled upon the Crown for the Support of its Dignity, and for defraying the *ordinary* Expences of the Government; towards which Sum the following Duties were ſoon afterwards granted to King *Charles* the Second for his Life; *viz.*

1. The Cuſtoms, being the old Subſidy of Tunnage and Poundage.
2. The Hereditary and Temporary Exciſe.
3. The Poſt-Office.
4. The Wine-Licences.
5. The Hearth-Money.

6. To which are to be added, the ſmall Branches ariſing chiefly from the Hereditary Eſtate of the Crown; *viz* the firſt Fruits and Tenths of the Clergy; the Fines for Writs of Covenant, and Writs of Entry, payable in the Alienation-Office; the Poſt-Fines; the Sheriffs Proffers; the Compoſitions, and Seizures of Uncuſtom'd and Prohibited Goods; the Revenue of the Principality of *Wales*, and Dutchy of *Cornwall*; the Rents

Rents of the Crown-Lands, and Fines for Leaſes; and the Four and a half *per Cent.* in *Barbadoes*, and the *Leeward Iſlands*.

The Tunnage and Poundage commenc'd from the 24th of *July* 1660; the Hereditary and Temporary Exciſe, both, from the 25th of *December* 1660; the Poſt-Office immediately from the Royal Aſſent to the Act for eſtabliſhing it, which was given on the 29th of *December*, 1660; the Wine-Licences commenc'd from the *Lady-Day* following; and the firſt Half-Yearly Payment of the Hearth-Money was due at *Michaelmas*, 1662. The NeatProduce of theſe ſettled Taxes aroſe not firſt to *Twelve Hundred Thouſand Pounds per Annum*; though after a few Years they arrived to this Sum, and in the latter part of this King's Reign far exceeded that Annual Amount: But, to ſupply this Deficiency in the Beginning, very conſiderable Sums were given by the Parliament, beſides providing for all *extraordinary* Services: A particular State of which Sums for ſeveral of the firſt Years after the *Reſtoration* is hereto ſubjoined; Whereby it will appear, 1. What was the Receipt of the Crown in each Year from its *ſettled Revenue*, and from *extraordinary Supplies*. 2. What Part of the Whole was disburſed for the *Publick Services*. And laſtly, how much was obtained by the Crown for the *Civil Liſt* only.

No.

No. I.

An Account of the Sums granted to King *Charles* the Second, by the Convention begun at *Weſtminſter*, the 25th of *April*, 1661, within the firſt ſeven Months after the *Reſtoration*; that is, from the 29th of *May* 1660, to the 29th of *December* following, when this Convention was diſſolved.

	L.
1. *AN Act for putting in Execution an Ordinance for the Aſſeſſment of Seventy Thouſand Pounds* per *Month, for Three Months, commencing the 24th of* June, 1660.	210,000
2. *The Tunnage and Poundage Act, commencing from the 24th of* July, 1660. This, to the *Chriſtmas* following, being Five Months, produc'd about	140,000
3. *Two Acts for continuing the Commonwealth Exciſe to* Chriſtmas, 1660. The Amount of this Exciſe for that Time does not appear, but is ſuppos'd to exceed the Cuſtoms, and for thoſe Seven Months may be ſtated at	200,00
4. *An Act for the ſpeedy Proviſion of Money, for disbanding and paying of the Forces of this Kingdom, both by Sea and Land.* This was a Poll-Tax the higheſt, and moſt particular, that had ever been granted before that Time; and compre-	1,000,000
	1,550,000

Brought

	L.
Brought over	1,550,000
hended likewiſe a Tax of Two Shillings in the Pound upon all Eſtates Real and Perſonal; its Amount, probably, exceeded	
5. *An Act for the ſpeedy raiſing of Seventy Thouſand Pounds for the preſent Supply of his Majeſty; this was by an Aſſeſſment of Seventy Thouſand Pounds for one Month, commencing the 29th of* September, 1660.	70,000
6. *An Act for the ſpeedy raiſing of Sevenſcore Thouſand Pounds, for the* compleat *diſbanding of the whole Army, and paying of ſome Part of the Navy.* This was, by an Aſſeſſment of Seventy Thouſand Pounds *per* Month, for Two Months, commencing the firſt of *November*, 1660.	140,000
7. *An Act for levying the Arrears of the Twelve Months Aſſeſſment of One Hundred Thouſand Pounds* per *Month, commencing the 24th of* June, 1659; *and of the Six Months Aſſeſſment of One Hundred Thouſand Pounds* per *Month, commencing the 25th of* December, 1659. If we ſuppoſe, with Mr. *Coke*, Three Months of theſe Eighteen to be in Arrear, as might eaſily be, in the Confuſion of that Time, the Amount of this was	300,000
8. *An Act for granting his Majeſty Four Hundred and Twenty Thouſand Pounds, by an Aſſeſſment of Seventy Thouſand Pounds* per *Month, for Six Months, for*	
	2,060,000

Brought

	L.
Brought over ———	2,060,000
disbanding the Remainder *of the Army, and paying of the Navy.* Though this Aſſeſſment was only to commence from the firſt Day of *January*, 1660; yet one Moiety of it was to be paid on, or before, the firſt Day of *February* following; and the Remainder of it on, or before, the firſt Day of *April* next enſuing: Beſides which, there is a Clauſe for allowing Ten *per Cent.* Intereſt to any Perſon who ſhall advance Money upon the Credit of this Act; ſo that the whole Amount was, probably, receiv'd very ſoon after *Chriſtmas*.	420,000
9. *An Act for raiſing of Seventy Thouſand Pounds for the* further *Supply of his Majeſty.* This was likewiſe by an Aſſeſſment of Seventy Thouſand Pounds for one Month, to commence from the firſt Day of *July*, 1661: But, upon the Credit of it, his Majeſty, probably, ſoon obtain'd the greateſt Part of it.	70,000
10. *To which are to be added the ſmall Branches.* Their Amount, according to Sir *William Petty*, in his little Treatiſe entitled, *Verbum Sapienti*, wrote ſoon after the *Reſtoration*, was One Hundred and Thirty Thouſand Pounds *per Annum*; and it is not to be doubted but the whole Produce for this Year was very exactly paid.	130,000
Total	2,680,000

The

The Hereditary and Temporary Exciſe, the Poſt-Office, and Wine-Licences, were granted by the ſame Convention: But as theſe Duties began not to be in Collection, till after *Chriſtmas*, 1660, they are not added to the following Articles, whoſe Produce was almoſt all obtain'd by the King, within the firſt Seven Months after the *Reſtoration:* For, it is to be remark'd, that the far greateſt Part of the *Army* was diſcharg'd before *Chriſtmas*, 1660; and the laſt Remnant of it was entirely disbanded on *Tower-Hill*, the 14th of *February* following; and the Navy was likewiſe paid off about the ſame Time: ſo that the Six Months Aſſeſſment of *Four Hundred and Twenty Thouſand Pounds* muſt have been all receiv'd before that Time; unleſs it be ſuppos'd, that the *Moiety* of it payable on the firſt of *February*, was ſufficient for ſatisfying all the *Forces:* which, if it was ſo, the Crown gain'd more conſiderably by the Gifts of thoſe firſt Seven Months, than I ſhall venture, without full Proof, to charge to its Account.

It is evident, indeed, by the very Titles of the Acts, that the Convention, after granting the Poll-Tax, *for the ſpeedy Proviſion of Money for diſcharging the Forces by Sea and Land*, computed, that the further Sum of *One Hundred and Forty Thouſand Pounds* was fully ſufficient for the *compleat* disbanding of the *whole* Army, and paying the Navy: but yet the Crown afterwards demanded, and obtain'd, *Four Hundred and Twenty Thouſand Pounds* more, for diſcharging the *Remainder* of the Forces.

However, admitting that the King gain'd nothing by this Buſineſs; and that the three Articles of *One Million, One Hundred and Forty Thouſand Pounds*, and *Four Hundred and Twenty Thouſand Pounds*, did no more than ſatisfy all the Expences of the Army, Navy, and the Pay of the three or four Regiments in *Dunkirk*; the Reſult of the whole Account will ſtand thus, for the firſt Seven Months after the *Reſtoration*;

		L.
Granted for the Public Services, and Civil Liſt,		2,680,000
Disburs'd for the Publick Services,	1,000,000 140,000 420,000	1,560,000
Remainder, being the Sum obtain'd for the Civil Liſt,		1,140,000

It may be obſerv'd here beſides, that the Convention preſented the King with *Fifty Thouſand Pounds* when he was in *Holland*; and he receiv'd likewiſe conſiderable Preſents from the *States General*, the City of *London*, and from a great Multitude of private Perſons, before and after his Arrival: All which I paſs over, as well as the Amount of the Forfeitures in *England* and *Ireland*, to a great Sum; having it far from my Intention to ſwell this Account beyond its *inmoſt* Limits.

This profuſe Liberality to the Crown, it may be expected, will be moderated next Year; the firſt Tranſports of the *Reſtoration* were

were then over: The Congratulatory Poems from the Two Univerſities by that Time were *extinct*; and the *Cavaliers*, having done with *boaſting* of their *Valour*, were glad to *beg* any where a little *Credit*. To compleat our Happineſs, upon the 8th of *May* 1661, the Nation was equipp'd with a Parliament *entirely Tory*; Now, doubtleſs, we ſhall ſee great *Frugality*, an exact *Inſpection* into the *Public Accounts*, and a *Pattern* laid down for ſucceeding Parliaments. However, before we triumph too much in theſe good Things, it will be proper to obſerve a little how the Gentlemen ſet forwards.

I find then, amongſt their firſt Operations;

1. *An Act againſt Tumults and Diſorders, upon Pretence of preparing, or preſenting Public Petitions, or other Addreſſes to his Majeſty, or the Parliament.*

2. *An Act for the well governing and regulating of Corporations.*

By this Act, all Perſons concern'd in the Magiſtracy of any Corporation were oblig'd to take the following Oath;

I *A. B. do declare and believe, that it is not lawful, upon any Pretence whatever, to take Arms againſt the King; and that I do abhor that Traiterous Poſition of taking Arms by his Authority againſt his Perſon, or againſt thoſe that are commiſſion'd by him: So help me God.*

This was aboliſh'd, the firſt of King *William* and *Mary*, and had, in the Opinion of the Enactors, entirely excluded us from ever aſſerting our *Rights* and *Liberties*.

3. *An Act for preventing the Mischiefs and Dangers that may arise by certain Persons call'd Quakers, and Others, refusing to take lawful Oaths.*

4. *An Act for the Uniformity of Public Prayers, and Administration of Sacraments, and other Rites and Ceremonies.*

This Act, the great Mr. *Locke* says, "was "fatal to our Church and Religion, in throwing "out a very great Number (above two "Thousand) of Worthy, Learned, Pious, "and Orthodox Divines, who could not come "up to several Things in it."

5. *An Act for preventing Abuses in printing Seditious, Treasonable and Unlicensed Books and Pamphlets; and for regulating of Printing, and Printing-Presses.*

This Act was continued from Time to Time, to *June* 1685; and thence for seven Years longer, which extended beyond the *Revolution*; after which it was HONESTLY suffer'd to expire, being inconsistent with the *Liberties* of a *Free People*.

It would be easy to fill a Volume with the *worthy Exploits* of this Sort perform'd by this Parliament; how stoutly they suppress'd all *Conventicles*; imprisoning, and otherwise punishing Thousands of pious and scrupulous *Protestants*, for quietly worshipping God according to their *own Consciences*; abolishing the *Rights* and *Liberties* of the People, and erecting in their Stead *Passive Obedience* and *Non-Resistance*:

Reſiſtance: But, leaving theſe Heroical Acts, it is my Province, at preſent, to enquire into their Bounty to the King, who enjoy'd now a very conſiderable ſettled Revenue, and was therefore in leſs Want of any Additional Supplies.

No. II.

An Account of the Neat Produce of the Settled Revenue, and of the other Sums granted to King Charles *the Second from* Chriſtmas 1660 *to* Chriſtmas 1661.

		L.
1. THE Cuſtoms, then farm'd at about		350,000
2. The Hereditary and Temporary Exciſe, then farm'd at		275,952
3. The Wine-Licences firſt paid at *Lady-Day* that Year,		7,000
4. The ſmall Branches, whoſe Account Sir *William Petty* about that Time computes, as follows,		
Crown-Lands *per Annum*	70,000	
Poſt-Office,	20,000	
Coinage and Pre-emption of Tin	12,000	130,000
Foreſt of *Dean*,	4,000	
Courts of Juſtice,	6,000	
Firſt-Fruits,	18,000	
		762,952

Brought

	L.
Brought over	762,952
5. *An Act for the declaring, vesting, and settling, of all such Moneys, Goods, and Things in his Majesty, which were receiv'd, levied or collected in these late Times, and are remaining in the Hands or Possession of any Treasurers, Receivers, Collectors, or others not pardon'd by the Act of Oblivion.*	50,000
The Amount of these is unknown, but there were, doubtless, very considerable Sums outstanding and unsettled, for which this Act was pass'd; I shall, however, state what was obtained only at	
6. *An Act for a Free and Voluntary Present to his Majesty.*	
This was like a general Brief throughout the Kingdom; and considering the Bent of the Times, and that many People wanted such Opportunities of ingratiating themselves with the Court, its Amount must have been very large: however, I shall charge it only, according to Mr. *Coke*, at	300,000
7. *An Act for vesting in his Majesty the Arrears of the Excise, and new Impost.*	
By this Act his Majesty has a Power of prosecuting all Persons, or their Securities; and the Heirs, Executors, and Administrators of these, for all Arrears, and Sums, that were chargeable and demandable for those Duties, whilst they subsisted: And these Persons again have a Power given them of prosecuting others, to relieve themselves in this Respect. The Sum that the King obtain'd by this, Mr. *Coke* charges at	300,000
	1,412,952

	L.
Brought over	1,412,952
Theſe Acts were paſſed the 30th of *July* 1661, from which the Parliament was adjourn'd to the 20th of *November* following, when they *liberally* paſs'd, within leſs than a Month, the two following Acts, which, among others, receiv'd the Royal Aſſent, the 10th of *December*, 1661.	
8. *An Act for granting unto the King's Majeſty* Twelve Hundred and Sixty Thouſand Pounds. This was by an Aſſeſſment of Seventy Thouſand Pounds *per* Month for Eighteen Months, commencing from the 25th of *December* 1661: But, upon the Credit of it, his Majeſty ſoon rais'd the greateſt Part of this Sum.	1,260,000
9. *An Act to enable the King's Majeſty to make Leaſes, Grants, and Copies of Offices, Lands, Tenements, and Hereditaments, Parcels of his Highneſs's Dutchy of* Cornwall, *or annexed to the ſame, and for Confirmation of Leaſes and Grants already made.* This empower'd the King to grant Leaſes for Thirty-one Years, or Three Lives, of the Crown-Lands, in the Dutchy of *Cornwall*; the reſerv'd Rent only not to be leſs than one Quarter of the Yearly Value: by which, doubtleſs, very large Sums were rais'd; The old Leaſes granted by his Father being almoſt all expir'd; and many Perſons bidding for the new Grants; ſo that I may moderately ſtate the Sum gain'd by this at	100,000
	2,772,952

'Tis

'Tis requiſite to ſtate next the Diſburſements of the Crown this Year for the Publick Services, which, according to the beſt Information I can obtain, were nearly as follows.

No. III.

An Account of the Diſburſements for the Publick Services from Chriſtmas 1660, *to* Chriſtmas 1661, *diſtinguiſh'd under the ſeveral Articles.*

	L.
1. THE Charges of *Dunkirk*, which Mr. *Coke*, from the Information of ſeveral Members of Parliament, eſtimates at	60,000
2. The Ordinary of the Navy and Ordnance. His Majeſty himſelf, in 1678, promis'd the Parliament, if they would ſettle an Additional Revenue upon him, to allot Fifty Thouſand Pounds *per Annum*, for the future, to this Service; it may, therefore, be ſafely preſum'd, that before that Time, it had not coſt him ſo much; and that ſo early as this Year, it did not amount to more than	40,000
3. The Charges of a Summer-Guard, and Cruiſers, reckoning Three Thouſand Men, at the *preſent* Expence of Four Pounds a Man *per* Month. This is confirm'd by Sir *William Petty*, who eſtimates the *whole* Charges of the Navy; that is, including the Ordinary, in this Reign, *communibus Annis*, at about 200000*l.*	156,000
	256,000

Brought

	L.
Brought over	256,000
4. The Pay of one Regiment of Horſe, and of one Regiment of Foot, which, upon disbanding the Army, his Majeſty form'd for his own Guard; the Expence of theſe muſt then have been leſs than the *preſent* Pay of the Four Troops of Life-Guards, and of the *Coldſtream* Regiment of Foot-Guards: However, that I may not under-eſtimate any thing, I ſhall charge it at this, *viz.* The Horſe at 66,368 The Foot at 33,299	99,667
5. Garriſons, Fire, Candle, and Contingencies.	20,000
Total	375,667

And the Reſult of the whole Account for the Year, ending at *Chriſtmas* 1661, will ſtand thus;

Received by the Crown for the Publick Services, and Civil Liſt,	2,772,952
Disburs'd for the Public Services,	375,667
Remainder, being the Sum obtain'd by the Crown for the Civil Liſt,	2397,285

Theſe were the *Firſt-Fruits* of this *Loyal* Parliament, and ſuch is the *Tory Liberality* to the *Crown*, when the *Poſſeſſor* of it is after their *own Heart*; but, ſince the *Revolution*, they are the moſt *ſqueamiſh* of People, and have been frighten'd at allowing the Crown an Arrear of *One Hundred and Fifteen Thouſand Pounds*, even to ſupply a Deficiency, which the Parliament was engag'd to make good.—

But it is proper to obſerve the further Progreſs of theſe Gentlemen.

The Parliament was prorogued from the 29th of *December* 1661 to the 10th of *January* following, where they perform'd many noble Actions againſt the Rights and Freedom of their Country: But their *Pecuniary Exploits* being what I am at preſent to ſet forth, it is neceſſary to give,

No. IV.

An Account of the Neat Produce of the Settled Revenue, and of the other Sums granted to King Charles *the Second, from* Chriſtmas 1661 *to* Chriſtmas 1662.

		L.
1.	THE Cuſtoms, then farm'd at about	350,000
2.	The Hereditary and Temporary Exciſe, then farm'd at	275,952
3.	The Wine-Licences,	7,000
4.	The ſmall Branches, including the Poſt-Office	130,000
		762,952
5.	*An Act for eſtabliſhing an Additional Revenue upon his Majeſty, his Heirs and Succeſſors, for the better Support of his and their Crown and Dignity.* This was the Hearth-Tax, which, until the King had a Power of collecting by his own Officers, I muſt be ſo	

Brought

L.

Brought over 762,952

fair to acknowledge, produc'd only about One Hundred Thouſand Pounds *Per Annum*, tho' after this Power was granted to his Majeſty, as it was very ſoon, its Annual Produce was more than double that Sum; the firſt Half-yearly Payment of this Duty was due, and levy'd at *Michaelmas* in this Year. 50,000

6. *An Act directing the Proſecution of ſuch as are accountable for Prize-Goods.*

By this Act all Prize-Moneys, or Goods, ſince the Year 1642, which were unſettled and undetermin'd, were veſted in his Majeſty: This comprehended many very conſiderable Captures belonging to our brave Seamen, that they had taken in the Commonwealth-War with the *Dutch*, and in the *Protector*'s War with the *Spaniards* and *Portugueſe*. And it is ſaid in the Act, that theſe would, probably, amount to conſiderable Sums of Money; and they may therefore be very moderately ſtated at 50,000

7. *An Act for the more ſpeedy and effectual bringing thoſe Perſons to an Account, whoſe Accounts are excepted in the Act of* Oblivion.

As this ſeems to be only an Enforcement of a former Act paſs'd the laſt Year, (Article 5. No. II.) I ſhall not charge any thing here to its Amount. 000,000

862,952

	L.
Brought over	862,952
8. *An Act for ordering the Forces in the several Counties of this Kingdom.* His Majesty was empower'd, by this Act, upon any apparent Danger of the Government, of which he was left the Judge, to raise Seventy Thousand Pounds, *per Annum*, for Three Years, by an Assessment, for defraying the Expence of any Part of the Militia, he should in such Case think fit to employ. This, according to my Apprehension, was a *Vote of Credit*; or *an Additional Grant to the Civil List, under the Appearance of a Vote of Credit.* And, as Articles of this Sort have been the grand Topic of Censure, of late Years, it is proper to be known; that the *Precedent* of them was *first* introduc'd amongst us, by this *Tory Parliament.*	210,000
Total *L.*	1,072,952

The *Smalness* of this Sum, considering the *Liberality* of these Gentlemen, I must confess, surpriz'd me at first; and I could not help wondering what Accident had diverted them from their former *Speed*, and his Majesty from his usual *Craving*. I observ'd, that the Parliament was prorogued from the 17th of *May* in this Year, when these Acts received the Royal Assent, to the 18th of *February* following, which is a considerable Advance into another Year; But I soon recollected that his Majesty was employ'd in selling *Dunkirk* to the *French* King, the latter End of this Summer, and receiv'd a large Portion with his Queen the *Infanta* of *Portugal*; The Amount of these two Sums is, therefore, to be added to the

the former Articles; and the whole Account of his Majesty's Receipts from *Christmas* 1661 to *Christmas* 1662, will stand thus;

	L.
The Amount of the Eight Articles before specify'd,	1,072,952
Receiv'd by the Sale of *Dunkirk*, (besides the *French* King's engaging for his Sister's Portion to the Duke of *Orleans*) Five Millions of *Livres*; which then at about Twelve Pence each, though since reduc'd, amounted to	250,000
Receiv'd for Queen *Catharine*'s Portion about	300,000
	1,622,952

No. V.

An Account of the Disbursements for the Public Services from Christmas 1661 *to* Christmas 1662, *distinguish'd under the several Articles.*

	L.
1. THE Charges of *Dunkirk*, which, though it was deliver'd to the *French* before the End of this Year, I shall state at the full Expence,	60,000
2. The Charges of *Tangier*, which Sir *William Petty*, in his VERBUM SAPIENTI, estimates, *communibus Annis*, exclusive of the Charge of the Mole, which was scarce yet begun upon, at	60,000
Total	120,000

Brought

	L.
Brought over	120,000
3. The Ordinary of the Navy and Ordnance,	40,000
4. The Expence of Lord *Sandwich*'s Squadron of eighteen Men of War this Year to *Lisbon*; Part of which brought home the new Queen, and the Reſt under Sir *John Lawſon* attack'd the *Algerines*: If we reckon the whole Number of Seamen employ'd this Year at Six Thouſand Men, and theſe at Four Pounds a Man *per* Month, tho' it is too much, the Amount is	312,000
5. The Horſe and Foot-Guards, as before, though too much,	99,667
6. Garriſons, Fire, Candle, and Contingencies,	20,000
7. The Sum of Sixty Thouſand Pounds to the poor *Cavalier* Officers: this was directed to be paid them, by an Act of Parliament paſs'd this Seſſion, entitled, *An Act for Diſtribution of Threeſcore Thouſand Pounds amongſt the truly loyal and indigent Officers*, out of the Aſſeſſment of One Million, Two Hundred and Sixty Thouſand Pounds, granted to the King laſt Seſſion. It is very obſervable, that the Oppoſition of the Lords and Commons to the King in 1642, is in this Act call'd a *Barbarous Rebellion*; tho' the Convention in 1660, and all that regard the Rights of the People, juſtify'd that firſt Oppoſition, before the Excluſion of the Majority of the Members of the Houſe of Commons;	60,000
Total	651,667

It

It will be admitted, I believe, by every Gentleman, who is at all vers'd in these Subjects, that I have by no Means suppres's'd, or diminish'd, any Articles of the Expences of the Crown for the Public Services: If I discover any Warmth against *Tory Principles* and *Tory Conduct*, I am far from being bias's'd by it into any unfair Representation of Facts, which are every where deliver'd with Probity, and from the best Information I have been able to obtain.

I beg Pardon for this Digression, and return to examine the Result of the whole Account of the Receipts of the Crown, and of its Disbursements for the Year, ending at *Christmas* 1662;

	L.
Receiv'd by the Crown for the Public Services and Civil List,	1,622,952
Disburs'd for the Public Services,	651,667
Remainder, being the Civil List Revenue,	971,285

'Tis proper to examine the Receipts and Disbursements of one Year more.

The Parliament met the 18th of *February* 1662, and the following is,

No.

No. VI.

An Account of the Neat Produce of the Settled Revenue, and of the other Sums granted to King Charles *the Second from* Chriſtmas 1662 *to* Chriſtmas 1663.

	L.
1. THE Cuſtoms, then farm'd at about	350,000
2. The Exciſe, then farm'd at	275,952
3. The Wine-Licences	7,000
4. The ſmall Branches, including the Poſt-Office,	130,000
5. The Hearth-Tax,	100,000
6 *An Act for granting four entire Subſidies to his Majeſty by the Temporalty,*	1,200,000
7. *An Act for confirming of four Subſidies granted by the Clergy;*	
Theſe Two comprehended a very ſtrict Land-Tax of Four Shillings in the Pound, which, though it is ſaid to have been ſomewhat evaded, I apprehend, muſt have amounted to this Sum.	
8. *An Explanatory Act for Recovery of the Arrears of Exciſe.* This being only to render more effectual an Act before paſſed, (Article the 7th, N. II.) I ſhall charge nothing here for its Amount.	000,00
Total	2,062,952

Theſe

Theſe Acts were paſs'd the 3d of *June* and 27th of *July* 1663, from which laſt Day the Parliament was prorogued to the 16th of *March* following. It is obſervable, that the King this Year gave the Wine-Licences and Poſt-Office to the Duke of *York*, and a few Years after reſum'd them again: However, theſe are both to be conſider'd as the Revenue of the Crown, and are paid for accordingly by the People, whatever be his Majeſty's Method of diſpoſing of them.

No. VII.

An Account of the Diſburſements for the Public Services from Chriſtmas 1662 *to* Chriſtmas 1663, *diſtinguiſh'd under the ſeveral Articles.*

	L.
1. TANGIER, which, as the Project of the *Mole* there might be now begun, I ſhall ſtate at double the former Expence, or	120,000
2. The Ordinary of the Navy and Ordnance,	40,000
3. The Charges of a Summer's Guard, and Cruiſers, reckoning Three Thouſand Men, at Four Pounds a Man *per* Month,	156,000
4. The Pay of one Regiment of Horſe-Guards, and of One Regiment of Foot-Guards,	99,667
5. Garriſons, Fire, Candle, and Contingencies,	20,000
	435,667

	L.
Brought over	435,667
Dunkirk was deliver'd to the *French* King the latter End of laſt Year; and I find no Account of any Extraordinary Expence that was incurr'd this Year, unleſs it was the Pay of the *Engliſh* Troops, that had been in Garriſon at *Dunkirk*; and upon the relinquiſhing of that Town to the *French*, were ſent into *Portugal*, and there acted as Auxiliaries under the Command of Count *Schomberg* againſt the *Spaniards*; this was at the Inſtigation of the *French*, and in Purſuance of a private Agreement with the King of *Portugal*: their Pay, if it is to be added as a Public Charge, might be about	40,000
Total	475,667

The Reſult, therefore, of the whole Account of the Receipts of the Crown, and of its Diſburſements, for the Year ending at *Chriſtmas* 1663, is to be thus ſettled;

Receiv'd by the Crown for the Public Services, and Civil Liſt,	2,062,952
Diſburs'd for the Public Services,	475,667
Remainder, being the Civil Liſt Revenue,	1,587,285

The next Year the Parliament gave the King a Power of collecting the *Hearth-Tax* by his own Officers, which immediately rais'd the Produce of that Duty to about 160,000 *l. per Annum*, and it went on further increaſing; beſides this, about the End of this Year, they granted the King a *Royal* Aid of 2,477,500 *l.* for

for the Defence of the Nation, and his other Occaſions. This was indeed given in Expectation of the *Dutch* War, which was declared the 22d of *February*, 1664; and as it is difficult to determine, how much of this vaſt Sum, and of the other Extraordinary Aids, was applied by his Majeſty to the Uſes of the War, I ſhall proceed no further in attempting to ſtate his *Civil Liſt Revenue*; but only beg leave to obſerve, that it was generally eſteemed one of the chief Motives to his Majeſty's engaging in this War, that he ſhould be able to obtain conſiderable Sums out of the Supplies, for his own private Purpoſes; and it is certain, that in *Schemes* of *this Sort* his Majeſty took particular Care never to be miſtaken; I have before mentioned the Reproach that befel us at *Chatham*, which was owing to his pocketing *eighteen hundred thouſand Pounds* that ſhould have fitted out the Navy; it muſt therefore be admitted, that a Computation of his *Civil Liſt Money* from a Medium of the three firſt Years and an half, when he was engaged in no War, and whilſt the Produce of his ſettled Revenue, was not half what it afterwards amounted to, will be a very low and moderate Eſtimate; and therefore I ſhall now ſtate it accordingly, from the foregoing Accounts.

	L.
The Civil Liſt Revenue for the firſt Half Year after the Reſtoration, ending at *Chriſtmas*, 1660.	1,120,000
	1,120,000

	L.
Brought over	1,120,000
The ſame, for the Year ending at *Chriſtmas*, 1661, being the *Firſt-Fruits* of the *Tory Parliament.*	2,397,285
The ſame, for the Year ending at *Chriſtmas*, 1662.	971,285
The ſame, for the Year ending at *Chriſtmas*, 1663.	1,587,285
Total	6,075,855

Which Sum of 6,075,855 *l.* for three Years and an Half, is after the Rate of 1,735,900 *l.* for one Year. And this may be fairly ſtated as, upon a Medium, the *annual Civil Liſt Revenue* after the Reſtoration.

The Sum is indeed extravagantly large. But whoever accurately examines the Accounts of this Reign, will find it is by no means exaggerated; on *one* hand, is to be remembred his *Majeſty's inſatiable Appetite* for *Money*, and his *various Devices* for procuring it; on the *other*, the *forward Liberality* of his *Tory Commons*; after the End of the firſt *Dutch War*, when his Majeſty could no more demand any Sums on *that* Pretence, he ſtarted the TRIPLE ALLIANCE, and required exorbitant Supplies, in order to keep the *Peace*; and his Commons very readily granted him almoſt THREE MILLIONS STERLING, for the Support of this League; the Lords upon this Occaſion were quite *alarmed* at the Profuſion of the Commons; and Lord *Lucas*, in his Majeſty's own Preſence, thus freely complained of their extravagant

travagant Bounty. " *In this wild Way*, ſays " his Lordſhip, *we have no Certainty at all*; " *for if you give thus much To-day, you may give* " *as much more To-morrow, and never leave giv-* " *ing, till we have given all that ever we have* " *away*; ——— *It is therefore neceſſary to be* " *able to make ſome Eſtimate of ourſelves*; *would* " *his Majeſty be pleaſed to have a Quarter of our* " *Eſtates? For my part he ſhall have it. Would* " *he be pleaſed to have half? For my part, upon* " *good Occaſion, he ſhall have it*; *but then let* " *us have ſome Aſſurances of the quiet Enjoy-* " *ment of the Remainder, and know what we* " *have to truſt to. The Commons have here ſent* " *up a Bill for the giving his Majeſty the twen-* " *tieth Part of our Eſtates*; *and I hear there* " *are other Bills alſo preparing, which together* " *will amount to little leſs than three Millions of* " *Money. A prodigious Sum! And ſuch, that* " *if your Lordſhips afford no Relief, we muſt* " *ſink under the Weight of it*; *I hope therefore* " *your Lordſhips will ſet ſome Bounds to the over* " *liberal Humour of the Commons.*" In ſhort, his Majeſty was perpetually *craving*, and the Commons were *gorging* him; and whether he was in *War* or *Peace*, he never wanted *Pretence* for asking, nor the Commons for giving, exceſſive Supplies.

I ſhall not dwell upon the Bribes which his Majeſty received from the *French* Court, as *Seven Hundred Thouſand Pounds* for engaging in the ſecond *Dutch* War: and, as it was generally ſuppos'd, about as much more for refuſing to paſs the Bill of *Excluſion*; beſides his conſtant ordinary Penſion from that Crown.

But

But I beg Leave to inſiſt a little upon two of his Majeſty's *Pecuniary Exploits*, *viz.* The ſhutting up of the *Exchequer*, and The Sale of the Crown-Lands.

The firſt of theſe Actions was an infamous Robbery of his Majeſty's Creditors to the Amount of *Thirteen Hundred and Twenty-eight Thouſand, Five Hundred, and Twenty-ſix Pounds*, whereby Thouſands of Families were ruin'd; and it is proper to be remember'd, that the Adviſer * of this Scheme, inſtead of being *impeach'd*, and expos'd to the National Cenſure, was created a Peer, and made High-Treaſurer of *England*, upon the ſole Merit of it: All which was in thoſe Days ſilently acquieſc'd in by a *Tory* Parliament.

The Sale of the Crown-Lands, purſuant to an Act for that Purpoſe in the Year 1670, brought in, as Mr. *Coke* ſays, about *Thirteen Hundred Thouſand Pounds*; or probably upwards; conſidering that the Rent paid to the Crown was *Seventy Thouſand Pounds per Annum*, beſides Reverſions; which, at *Twenty* Years Purchaſe, amounts to *Fourteen Hundred Thouſand Pounds:* And I mention this likewiſe, that it may always be remember'd, that *the depriving of the Crown of its antient Patrimony, and thereby throwing upon the People the whole Burden of its Maintenance, was the Act and Deed of a* TORY *Parliament.*

I ſhall only add one Word more upon the Subject of his Majeſty's *Civil Liſt Money:* It appears that in the Year 1675, the Majority of

* *Clifford.*

of the Commons being then *Whigs*, and having made an Enquiry into the Public Accounts, the Houſe found that the King, beſides enjoying the Produce of his ſettled Revenue, had receiv'd a *Million* for the Uſes of the War *more* than he had expended in it: And "In the Report made of this Affair, (as "is mentioned by *Rapin*) it was ſaid, that "the Parliament was not oblig'd to pay the "King's private Debts by a Tax: for, if this "Pretenſion was admitted, they would have "to pay the like Debts about a Year and half "hence; and ſo encourage the *Court* to *exact* "*yearly a Million and half, as they had hitherto* "*done*; that ſince the End of the War, the "whole Charge of the Government, both "by Sea and Land, amounted not to above "*Seven Hundred Thouſand Pounds Sterling*; "and the *clear* Income of the Revenue came "at leaſt to *Sixteen Hundred Thouſand Pounds* "*Sterling:* And conſequently, there ought to "have been a Yearly Remainder of *near a* "*Million*".

From whence it is obſervable, 1. That the King had *annually* exacted from the Parliament about a *Million and a half*. 2. That the Produce of his Revenue was then greatly increas'd, amounting to *Sixteen Hundred Thouſand Pounds per Annum*. 3. That the Expences of the Government, in which, I apprehend, were of courſe included the Salaries of Officers, Ambaſſadors, *&c. &c.* which are now conſider'd as Charges upon the Civil Liſt, were *Seven Hundred Thouſand Pounds per Annum*; the Number of diſciplin'd Forces being

being by this Time increas'd beyond the two Regiments of Guards, which were firſt eſtabliſh'd: And, if from this Sum be deducted *One Hundred Thouſand Pounds per Annum* for the Articles which belong to the Civil Liſt, the whole Amount of the Public Expence was then *Six Hundred Thouſand Pounds per Annum*; which is confirm'd by Sir *William Petty*, in his *Political Arithmetick*, Page the 103d, who, ſpeaking of this Reign, ſays, "*The ordinary* "*Charge of the Government, in Times of deep* "*and ſerene Peace, was not Six Hundred Thou-* "*ſand Pounds per Annum.*" So that if this Sum be ſubſtracted from the Produce of the ſettled Revenue, there will be a *Million* left clear for his Majeſty's Civil Liſt; —— *beſides what he annually exacted from Parliament, which in the foregoing Report is ſaid to be a Million and half more.*——After this, I preſume, the Reader will be fully ſatisfy'd of the Modeſty of the foregoing Eſtimate of the *Civil Liſt Revenue* in this Reign, at *One Million, Seven Hundred and Thirty-five Thouſand, Nine Hundred Pounds per Annum.*

I come next to conſider the *Annual Income* of the People at the *Reſtoration:* This is variouſly eſtimated by different Authors, as muſt naturally be expected from the great Variety and Magnitude of the Circumſtances; a very ſmall Difference in the firſt Principles making a very large Diſagreement in the Concluſion. Sir *William Petty*, in his *Verbum Sapienti*, which he wrote ſoon after the *Reſtoration*, ſays, Page 5, That the Number of People in *England* and *Wales* was *then* about *Six Millions*; and that their Annual Expence

pence, at about *Six Pounds, Thirteen Shillings* and *Four Pence per* Head, upon a *Medium*, amounted to *Forty Millions*. He then reckons the Rent of the Lands of *England* and *Wales*, without the Houſing, to be *Eight Millions per Annum*; And computes further as follows,

	L.
The Value of all the Houſing in *England* and *Wales*	30,000,000
The Value of the Shipping	3,000,000
The Value of the Live Stock of Cattle, Deer, Swine, Fiſh, *&c.* upon the ſaid Land	36,000,000
The Gold and Silver Coin ſcarce	6,000,000
The reſt of the Perſonal Stock, comprehending Wares, Merchandizes, and Utenſils of Plate and Furniture	31,000,000
Total Value of all the Houſing and of the reſt of the Stock	106,000,000
To which he adds the Value of the Eight Millions *per Annum* in Land, at Eighteen Years Purchaſe	144,000,000
The Total Value of all the Land and Stock of *England* and *Wales* at that Time according to his Eſtimation	250,000,000

Again, this *One Hundred* and *Six Millions* Value in Stock, excluſive of the Land, he computes to yield about *Seven Millions per Annum:* So that the Annual Income of the Land and Stock was *Fifteen Millions:* And the remaining *Twenty-five Millions*, wanting

to make up the *Forty Millions*, at which he reckons the Expence of the Nation, he ſuppoſes to be gain'd by Labour: But the ſame Gentleman, Page the 75th of his *Political Arithmetic*, ſays, That the whole Number of People in *Great Britain* and *Ireland*, appear'd, from the Exciſe, Poll-Tax, and Hearth-Tax, to be *Nine Millions and a half*; of which, as he eſtimates the Number in *Ireland* to have been about *One Million*, *One Hundred Thouſand*; and that of all *Scotland* to be about as many; It follows that the Number of People in *England* and *Wales* was upwards of *Seven Millions*. This was fully confirm'd by the Hearth-Books, which ſhew'd the whole Number of Houſes in *England* and *Wales*, ſoon after the *Reſtoration*, to be about 1,230,000; And reckoning *Six* Perſons, at a *Medium*, to each Houſe, it fixes the whole Nuumber of our People, at that Period, to be about *Seven Millions*.

As to the Quantity of our Coin at that Time, Dr. *Davenant*, from the Evidence of the Money brought in to be recoin'd, and other proper Accounts which he afterwards determines, Page the 33d of the ſecond Volume of his *Diſcourſes on the Public Revenues*, That the Coin of *England* at the *Reſtoration* was *Fourteen Millions Sterling*. This differs, it is true, very widely from Sir *William Petty*, who, as well as moſt other Gentlemen, before the *Recoinage* of our Clipp'd Money, entertain'd an Opinion, that the Quantity of Coin in this Kingdom was very inconſiderable: This they abundantly fortify'd themſelves

ſelves in, by their *Ingenuity* in demonſtrating, how eaſily a very ſmall Sum, by circulating ſwiftly thro' different Hands, might be a *Medium* ſufficient for carrying on all our Buſineſs. Mr. *Lowndes*, in his *Report*, Page the 108th, eſtimates the whole Quantity of the *Silver Coins*, clipp'd and unclipp'd, hoarded and current in *England* in 1695, to be *Five Millions, Six Hundred Thouſand Pounds*; which, within two Years after, at the Recoinage, appear'd to be *Nine Millions Sterling*. However, this happen'd to be a very *fortunate* Miſtake for this Kingdom: For a longer Delay of the Recoinage muſt have been attended with the moſt fatal Miſchiefs; And the Opinion, which prevail'd, of the ſmall Quantity of our Coin, was an Encouragement to ſome, more than better Arguments of the Practicableneſs, as well as Expediency, of an immediate Remedy.

It was happy for *Britain*, at that *important Criſis*, that the Great MR. MOUNTAGUE preſided at the *Treaſury*: His excellent Reaſoning animated the Attempt, and fix'd the Model of this vaſt Undertaking. The Torrent of baſe Money pour'd into the Mints beyond all Eſtimation, and Proviſion for its Deficiency, no way perplex'd his ſuperior Genius; and whilſt others were *giddy* with the *Precipices* on every Side, he almoſt alone was calm and ſerene; and directed the Whole with irreſiſtible Strength, and unerring Diſcernment. An Accompliſhment, the greateſt that was ever perform'd by any Miniſter! Let it always be remember'd with the warmeſt Gratitude, and endear the Name of HALIFAX to

 Britain:

Britain: And though the STATUES of GOLD, that he merited, were not rais'd to his Memory, yet every Piece from *that* Mint is a MEDAL to his GLORY. ——Nor is it any Diminution of his immortal Fame, that he was soon after perſecuted by a *Tory* Faction; who, having exerted their utmoſt Efforts to perplex, and defeat the Recoinage, never forgave Him *that Service* to his Country; but, whilſt the Coin was yet *blooming*, brought a ſcandalous Impeachment againſt Him, and the *Truly Great* and *Victorious* LORD ORFORD.

After this Digreſſion, I return again to conſider Dr. *Davenant*'s Eſtimates; who, though he ſeems juſtly to have determin'd, from the Accounts of the Mints, and other Obſervations, the Quantity of the Coin in this Kingdom, at the *Reſtoration*, to be *Fourteen Millions Sterling*, yet has, by no Means, apprehended rightly the Quantity of our other *Stock* at the ſame Period; for, Page the 27th of the ſame Volume, he eſtimates the Amount of all our Stock in 1660, comprehending Gold and Silver Coin, Wrought Plate, Bullion, Rings, Jewels, Furniture, Apparel, Shipping, Stock for Trade, Stock for Conſumption, and Live Stock of Cattle to be *Fifty-ſix Millions:* But, as he ſhews our Coin only to have been then *Fourteen Millions*, the Remainder, which is *Forty-two Millions*, or *thrice* the Value of our Coin, is all that he has left for the Amount of our *whole Stock* beſides: whereas, it may ſafely be judg'd, that this Amount was more than *twenty-times* as great as the Value of our Coin

Coin *only*, or upwards of *Two Hundred and Eighty Millions Sterling*; which I ſhall thus eaſily ſhew to be extremely probable.

If you go into the Houſe of the meaneſt Cottager, you will find ſome Sort of Furniture within, beſides his own Tools, and generally ſome little Stock without Doors. All which together may be worth *Three* or *Four Pounds*, or probably much more, tho' this Man ſhall never have *Five Shillings* by him at *once* throughout the Year, and one Time with another not near *Sixpence*. If you go into a Farmer's Houſe and examine his Circumſtances, you will find he has ſeldom more by him in Money than *Thirty* or *Forty Shillings*, if ſo much; except for a few Days after a Fair, and till he has carried it to his Landlord; whereas his conſtant Stock in his Houſe, in his Barns, in the Ground, and his Live Stock of Cattle of all Kinds, ſhall be worth *Three* or *Four Hundred Pounds*. If you go into a common Shopkeeper's Houſe, you will ſeldom find more than *Ten* or *Twelve Pounds* in the Till, though at the ſame Time the Stock in his Shop is worth *Two or Three Hundred Pounds*. If you examine the Houſes of wholeſale Dealers, you will find ſuch as are worth *Ten* or *Twelve Thouſand Pounds*, and upwards, have ſeldom more than *Two* or *Three Hundred Pounds* in Caſh lying by them; and Merchants worth *Twenty* or *Thirty Thouſand Pounds*, who have the moſt Occaſion for Money at Command, will ſeldom keep more than a *Thouſand*, or *Fifteen Hundred Pounds* in Caſh at their Bankers, and much leſs than this Sum in general. And laſtly, if you enquire into the State of Gentlemens Houſes, from

Peers

Peers to thoſe of the loweſt Rank, it will be found that the ready Money they have by them, is a very ſmall Part of the Value of their Plate, Furniture, and Stock of all Kinds. As to the Caſh that lies with the Bankers, I have before diſtributed that to the Merchants; and ſo far are theſe Bankers from keeping any of their own Money by them, that it is certain they keep but a Part only of what is depoſited in their Hands by other Perſons; without which they would have no Advantage: So that in the whole Circle of People of all Degrees, the Sum lying by them in ready Caſh is a very ſmall Part, not *one Twentieth*, it is probable, of their whole Stock; that is, of the whole Stock of the Kingdom: And therefore, as this has always been the Caſe, if, at the *Reſtoration*, the Coin in the Kingdom was about *Fourteen Millions*, as it appears to have been, it is probable that the Value of all the reſt of the Stock was then, at the common Market-Price, *Two Hundred and Eighty Millions Sterling*.

I might from hence endeavour to point out the *Income* of this *Stock*, and add to it the *Income* of the *Land*; and to theſe afterwards join the Amount of the *Income* that was gain'd by *Labour*; all which together would be the whole Amount of the *Annual Income* of the *People*; but as Eſtimates of this Sort require much Explanation, in order to carry with them a proper Conviction, it is neceſſary in this Place to purſue a ſhorter Method. If therefore the whole Number of the People in *England* and *Wales*, at the Reſtoration, was *Seven Millions*, and the annual Expence of each, at a Medium, was then about *Six Pounds*, *Ten Shillings*, which

is

is nearly agreeable to Sir *William Petty*'s Computation in his *Verbum Sapienti*, it follows, that their whole annual Expence was *Forty-five Millions and an Half Sterling*. But all Persons that are verſed in Speculations of this Sort, however they differ in other Points, unanimouſly agree, that the Trade and Manufactures of this Kingdom in general, were then in increaſing Circumſtances; and Dr. *Davenant*, in his Eſſay on the Balance of Trade, Page 103. ſays, that Mr. *Gregory King* had eſtimated upon the moſt probable Grounds, that the annual Increment of our Stock about the Year 1664, was *One Million, Two Hundred Thouſand Pounds*, and was ſtill going on with an accumulated Augmentation.

This Rate of Increaſe being admitted, though it ſeems much too low, it follows, that the *whole Annual Income* of the King and People of this Realm, ſoon after the Reſtoration, was about *Forty-ſix Millions, Seven Hundred Thouſand Pounds Sterling*, or *One Million, Two Hundred Thouſand Pounds per Annum* more than their Expence.

But the *Annual Income* belonging to the *King* only, or the *Civil Liſt Revenue* at that Time, was 1,735,900 *l.* therefore deducting this from 46,700,000 *l.* the Remainder, or 44,964,100 *l.* was the *Income* that belong'd to the *Public*; and the *Civil Liſt Revenue* at that Time, was to the *Revenue* belonging to the *Public*, as 1,735,900 *l.* or 44,964,100 *l.* or as 1 to 26 nearly in whole Numbers.

James the Second ſuccceded his Brother on the 6th of *February* $168\frac{4}{5}$, and ſoon afterwards ſummoned a Parliament, which met on the 19th of *May* following, when theſe *Revenue-Bills*

Bills were dispatch'd through both Houses in a few Days, and receiv'd the Royal Assent.

1st, *An Act for settling the Revenue on his Majesty for his Life, which was settled on his late Majesty for his Life.*

2d, *An Act for granting to his Majesty an Imposition upon all Wines and Vinegar imported between the 24th of* June, 1685, *and the 24th of* June, 1693.

3d, *An Act for granting to his Majesty an Imposition upon all Tobacco and Sugar imported between the 24th of* June 1685, *and the 24th of* June 1693.

4th, *An Act for granting an Aid to his Majesty, by an Imposition on all* French *Linens, and all* East-India *Linen, and several other Manufactures of* India, *and on all* French *wrought Silks and Stuffs, and on all other wrought Silks, and on all Brandys imported after the 1st Day of* July, 1685, *and before the 1st Day of* July, 1690.

And the clear settled Revenue possessed by this Monarch, stood thus, as appears by the following Account of it delivered into the House of Commons soon after the Revolution.

No. VIII.

An Account of the Annual Produce of the chief Branches of the Revenue, clear of all Charges in the Collection, at the Time of King James's *Abdication.*

	L.
1st, The Tunnage and Poundage, including the Wood Farm, Coal Farm and Salt Farm,	600,000

Brought

	L.
Brought over	600,000
2d, The Hereditary and Temporary Excise, with the additional Nine-pence for the Year, ending 24th *June*, 1689, produced clear of all Charges,	666,383
3d, The Hearth-Money,	245,000
4th, The Post-Office,	65,000
5th, The Wine-Licences,	10,000
6th, The Imposition on Wines and Vinegar for the Year ending 29 *September*, 1688,	172,901
7th, The Imposition on Tobacco and Sugar for the same Year,	148,861
8th, The Imposition on *French* Linen, Brandy and Silk for the same Year,	93,710
To which are to be be added the small Branches, which, before his Predecessor sold the Crown Lands, amounted to *One Hundred Thirty Thousand Pounds per Annum*. But since that only to about	60,000
Total neat Revenue of the Crown	2,061,855

To this might be added his private Revenue, as Duke of *York*, which he brought with him to the Crown, arising from Lands in *Ireland*, *Scotland* and *England*, Stock in the *African* Company, Property in the Plantations, and great Sums of Money, besides his Rent-Charge of *Twenty-four Thousand Pounds per Annum*, settled upon the Excise, which is included in the preceding Account. But passing this over, I proceed to enquire into his Disbursements for the public Services; wherein it is to be observ'd, 1. That *Tangier* was demolish'd in the latter End of his Predecessor's Reign; so that he had no Charge upon his Hands from this Article. 2. That he had no War, or Occasion

caſion for any extraordinary Expence, except from the Attempt of the Duke of *Monmouth*, which was preſently ſuppreſs'd: however, it muſt be acknowledg'd, in Juſtice to his Conduct, that he was abundantly more careful of the Navy than his Brother: And reckoning his extraordinary Expence on this Account, to balance his ſaving by the Demolition of *Tangier*, the Annual Disburſements for the Public Services muſt, in both Reigns, have been near upon an Equality; reckoning towards the End of *Charles* the Second's Reign, when he had augmented his Land-Force; ſo that theſe Disburſements amounted to about *Six Hundred Thouſand Pounds per Annum*, and conſiſted of the following Articles.

No. IX.

An Account of the Annual Disburſements for the Public Services during the Reign of James *the Second.*

	L.
1. Maintenance of Seamen, and Proviſion of Naval Stores,	300,000
2. Ordinary of the Navy and Ordnance,	50,000
3. Guards, and other Diſciplin'd Troops,	200,000
4. Garriſons, Contingencies, *&c.*	50,000
Total	600,000

As to the numerous *Popiſh* Army which this Monarch endeavour'd to form and eſtabliſh amongſt us by his abſolute Will and Authority, it was undeniably for his own *private* Views and Deſigns, and is by no means to be eſtimated among the *Public Services:* However, it ſufficiently ſhews the Largeneſs of his Civil Liſt Revenue, which, beſides the Support of his

his Houſhold, enabled him to bear ſo great an Expence, as the Maintenance of this Army, together with endleſs Shoals of *Jeſuits*, and *Prieſts* of all Orders.

It is is indeed true, that beſides this great ſettled Revenue, King *James* receiv'd no other Extraordinary Sums during his Reign; which happen'd entirely from his own arbitrary Maxims, and a Reſolution he had taken to owe little or nothing to his People: For the Parliament, after the Defeat of the Duke of *Monmouth*, at the End of the *firſt* Year only of his Reign, beſides granting him the Revenue of his Predeceſſor for Life, and the three Additional Impoſitions, voted likewiſe an extraordinary Sum of *Seven Hundred Thouſand Pounds* to his Majeſty for his neceſſary Occaſions; and without doubt he might have obtain'd every Year from the Parliament a conſiderable Sum in the ſame manner: but becauſe the Commons were unwilling to allow a *Power* to be *inherent* in him, of diſpenſing with the *Penal Laws* and *Teſt*, tho' they were preparing a Bill to capacitate his *Popiſh* Officers for their Poſts, he prorogued the Two Houſes, and relinquiſh'd the *Seven Hundred Thouſand Pounds*, rather than endure that *this Power*, which he had aſſum'd, ſhould be brought into Queſtion: Nor did he ever afterwards ſuffer a Parliament to ſit; Having, undoubtedly, determin'd to levy the *three Impoſitions* before ſpecify'd, after their Expiration by Law, or whatever *Duties* beſides he ſhould think neceſſary by his own abſolute Will and Authority; In the ſame manner, as at his Acceſſion he levy'd the *Duties* which ceas'd upon his Predeceſſor's Death, before they were granted to himſelf by Parliament. How-

However, under theſe his Refuſals of Money, and before he had made himſelf Amends for them, as he would certainly have done in a little Time, by aſſuming the ſame unlimited Power over our Properties, which he actually uſurp'd over our Religion and Liberties; it appears that the clear Amount of his Civil Liſt Revenue was *One Million, Four Hundred and Sixty-one Thouſand, Eight Hundred and Eighty-five Pounds per Annum.*

It is neceſſary, in the next Place, to enquire into the annual *Income* of the People in 1688; in order to which it is to be obſerv'd, that the *Income* of a People at all Times ariſes from the Produce of their *Land*, of their *Stock*, and of their *Labour*: And as *Money* has, for ſome Years paſt, been the common Meaſure of all Things, it will be proper to refer the *Income* of the People to this, in order to compare it with the *Income* of the Crown, which is before reduc'd to the ſame Standard.

Now, it will appear, That our Produce was greater in 1688 than in 1660, if it can be ſhewn that our *Lands* were improv'd, that the Number of our *Shipping*, of our *Furniture*, of our *Manufactures*, of our *Houſes*, and of our *People* was greater in the later Period.

But it appears from the Leaſes and Deeds in many Families, That the *Improvements* of the *Lands* of *England* from 1660 to 1688, were apparently more, by incloſing of Commons, and open Grounds, by clearing of Wood-Lands, by manuring, and fertilzing what were poor and barren, than had been made in fifty Years before.

It

It was evident from the natural Rate of the Increaſe of our People, that their number was conſiderably greater in 1668 than in 1660. And reckoning 6 perſons to each of the 70,000 new Houſes, which were built within that Time, our People were 420,000 more at this later Period than they were at the Former.

It was evident from the Books of the Cuſtom-houſe and from the Teſtimony of old and experienc'd Merchants, that we had near double the Tunnage of Trading *Ships* in 1688, to what we had in 1660.

Our *Furniture* of all Kinds was greatly improv'd in the Quantity and Richneſs of it: And, to inſtance only in Plate, it was obſervable there was more wrought for private Families, from 1666 to 1688, than had been work'd for two Hundred Years before.

Our *Manufactures* were increaſing from 1660 to 1688, particularly, our Iron and Braſs Manufactures, and Dying; and various new ones, as Glaſs, Silk, Hats, were beginning to be eſtabliſh'd.

Many public and private magnificent Buildings were erected within the ſame Time; and *Farm-Houſes* were kept all the while in good Repair: Beſides which, it appear'd from the Books of the Hearth-Money, and from other Reaſons, that within that Time there had been built, in *London* and the Country, not leſs than *Seventy Thouſand* Tenements upon *new* Foundations.

To

To theſe it is proper to add, That our *Live Stock* of large Cattle, and Sheep, *&c.* every Day increas'd, as appear'd by the Farms being generally more plentifully ſtock'd than formerly. And our Plantations Abroad grew every Day more conſiderable.

Theſe all undeniably demonſtrate, that our Stock and Produce in 1688 was greater than in 1660: But this does not come up to the Point of fixing our *Pecuniary Income*, or the *Amount* of our *whole annual Produce* at the Market-Price, in 1688; which is a Speculation of ſome Difficulty; and is not to be determin'd by *general* Aſſertions of the *Increaſe* of Things, without aſſigning the *diſtinct* Quantity of ſuch *Increaſe:* But as the different Quantities of our Coin in 1660, and in 1688, are pretty exactly known, I ſhall endeavour to ſerve myſelf of theſe two Articles, in determining our *preciſe Income* at this later Period.

In order to which, it is proper to obſerve, That the *whole annual Income* of the Kingdom, when referred to *Money* only, at any Period, is the *whole Amount* of *Annual Produce* of all ſorts, as of Trade, Labour, Lands, Stock, *&c.* according to the uſual Market-Price at that Period.

But when we talk of the *Market-Price* of the *whole annual Produce* of the Kingdom, this *Produce* is not to be ſuppos'd to be *all* brought to Market *at once*, to be ſold for *ready Money*; for then its *whole Price* could be no more than the *Money* brought to Market for its Purchaſe; which could not exceed the *whole Coin* in the Kingdom, and might be much leſs: But what is

to

to be underſtood, is, that in general *one conſtant Share*, or nearly ſuch, of the *whole annual Produce*, is continually fluctuating, and changing Hands; and that the worth of the *reſt* which is not upon Sale, is eſtimated according to the Price which this *fluctuating Part* of the ſame Kind, bears at Market.

This being premiſed, I ſhall beg leave to lay down the following Propoſition.

Propoſition.

The Value *or* Amount *of any* whole Produce *of any Sort, eſtimated according to the Market-Price, depends upon the* Ability *of the* Buyers, *and upon the greater or leſs* Propenſity *to Buying and Selling.*

Therefore admitting, that there was the ſame *Propenſity* in general at each of thoſe Periods to the Buying and Selling of all Produces, it follows that the *Value* of any *whole Produce*, or of all our Produces of every Sort, that is, of our *whole Income*, at each of thoſe Periods, was according to the ABILITY of the BUYERS.

But it is evident, that the ABILITY of the BUYERS at *any Period*, their PROPENSITY to BUYING being the ſame, is according to the Quantity of Money *then* brought to Market for Purchaſes; and will always be greater or leſs according to the *whole Quantity* of *Coin* circulating in the Kingdom.

It therefore appears that our *whole annual Income* at either of thoſe Periods, was greater or leſs,

leſs, according to the *whole Quantity* of *Coin then* circulating in the Kingdom.

Nor was this alter'd at all by any *Paper Credit*, ſuppoſing this *Credit* to have been greater or leſs proportionably to the *real Coin* in the Kingdom; which was nearly the Caſe in 1660 and 1688, though ſince then this *Credit* hath increaſed much faſter.

So that it is now evidently prov'd, that,

As 14 *Millions*, our whole Coin in 1660,
To 18 ½ *Millions*, our whole Coin in 1688,
So was 46,700,000 *l.* our whole annual Income in 1660,
To 61,710,714 *l.* our whole annual Income in 1688.

And if from 61,710,714 *l.* we deduct 2,400,000 *l.* which Mr. *King* eſtimates to be the annual Increaſe of our Wealth in 1688, over and above our Expences, the Remainder or 59,710, 714, will be the Amount of our *whole annual Expence* at that Period; And if the whole Number of our People at this Time was *Seven Million four Hundred and twenty Thouſand*, the Sum of 59,710,714 *l.* divided amongſt them all, will amount to about *Eight Pounds*, upon a Medium, for the *annual Expence* of each Perſon.

As to the Amount of our whole Stock at this Period, excluſive of our Coin, it ſeems abundantly probable that it was not *leſs* than *twenty* times the Amount of our Coin only, or *three Hundred and Ninety Millions Sterling*, according to the Method of eſtimating it before mentioned; this Amount might indeed be approached to in another

another manner by conſidering what Part of our Stock lies *dead*, as Plate, Furniture, Apparel, Equipage, *&c.* what Part is conſtantly *offered* to Sale; and what Part is *actually* fluctuating, or continually changing Hands; which laſt is the Part that *enlivens* the whole, and denominates its Value, theſe being ſeparately enquired into, and what their reſpective Amounts are, and their Shares of the whole Stock, would ſerve mutually to correct, and to point out each other.

I am ſenſible that in the foregoing Eſtimate of the Amount of our Stock, I have widely differed from Dr. *Davenant*; who imagined that the whole Amount of it in 1688, including our Coin, was no more than 88 Millions *Sterling*; or, as he ſhews our Coin only at that Time to have been 18 ½ Millions, that the Value of our whole Stock excluſive of our Coin was only 69 ½ Millions *Sterling*; and it may probably be thought to be a large Stride to ſtate the Value of the ſame Stock at 390 Millions *Sterling*: — But I have before ſhewn the Reaſonableneſs of eſtimating this Value at *twenty times* the Amount of our Coin alone; and in confirmation of the Modeſty of this Eſtimate, it muſt have been obſerved by Gentlemen, that in moſt Country Villages it ſhall be difficult to find *Twenty Shillings* in Silver, when at the ſame time the whole Stock in their Houſes, Barns, *&c.* and the Live and Dead Stock upon their Grounds, ſhall be worth many *Thouſand Pounds*; And though the Sum of 390 Millions *Sterling* may be diffidently received at firſt from its Magnitude, yet whoever conſiders the Stock of all Sorts, in every City, Town, Village and private Houſe, and upon the Land, throughout this Kingdom, together with the Stock of

Shipping, and what is on Ship-board, will be ſenſible that for many Years paſt, ſince Trade and Manufactures have flouriſhed amongſt us, the Amount of this whole Stock at the common Market Price, has been a prodigious Sum; And indeed without the Aſſiſtance of a Stock of ſuch a Value, as I have here aſſign'd, conſidering that a very large Part of it always lies *dead*, it is difficult to conceive how ſo great an annual Income as 62 Millions Sterling, could belong to this Kingdom.

It is further to be obſerv'd, that the Sum of 69 Millions and a half, Sterling, at which Dr. *Davenant* eſtimates our Stock, excluſive of our Coin in 1688, is very little more than one Year's Income; even according to his own Conjecture concerning this Income; For Page 367 of the 2d Volume of his Diſcourſes, he ſays, He had Reaſon to think, that the annual Income of each Perſon, at a Medium, in 1688, was 7 *l.* 18 *s.* which, ſuppoſing the Number of our People at that Time to be only 7,300,000, according to his own Suppoſition of their Increaſe from 1660, amounts to near 58 Millions Sterling; So that it will follow from the Doctor's own Eſtimate, that one Year's Income only in 1688, was almoſt equal to our whole Stock before-hand, excluſive of our Coin; which however it may be allow'd with reſpect to Servants, and Labourers, or if it ſhould even be admitted with regard to Gentlemen, that their Plate, Furniture, Books, Apparel, Equipage, Pictures, and Stock of all Sorts in their Houſes, Stables, Gardens, *&c.* are worth little more than their annual Income, though in general they many times exceed it; Yet it is by no means credible, that the whole Stock of the Merchants, Shopkeepers and Farmers

mers (which is the chief Part of the Stock of the Kingdom) ſhould be little more than the Amount of their Annual Income, or that upon every 69 ½ *l.* inveſted in Stock, 58 *l.* at leaſt ſhould be their *Annual Profit.*

As to Sir *William Petty*, though he was greatly miſtaken in his Opinion of the Quantity of our Coin; yet his Proportions are of a different Kind from thoſe of Dr. *Davenant*; for he reckons about the Year 1660,

	L.
The Value of our Shipping to be	3,000,000
The Value of our live Stock	36,000,000
The Value of the reſt of our perſonal Stock	31,000,000
The Amount of our Coin	6,000,000
Total	76,000,000

Whereby he makes the Amount of our whole Stock, excluſive of our Coin, to be to our Coin alone, as 70 to 6, or, nearly as 12 to 1; which Dr. *Davenant* computes to be only as 42 to 14, or as 3 to 1; and thus falls into the greater Error, though he had all the Evidence of the Recoinage to correct himſelf by, which made him certain of the Amount of one Article of the utmoſt Conſequence; an Advantage which if Sir *William Petty* had enjoyed, and ſeen his Miſtake in under-eſtimating the Amount of our Coin, he would eaſily have rectified himſelf with regard to the Value of our whole Stock likewiſe, and have aſſign'd for it a much larger Amount than 76 Millions Sterling.

But Speculations of this Sort require ſome Attention, and are not ſuited to the Guſt of every Reader. I ſhall therefore proceed to cloſe the Compariſon between the Income belonging to the Crown and to the Public in 1688; ——— Since then the whole Income of the King, and of the People at this Period, appears to have been 61,710,714 *l.* and the Income belonging to the King only 1,461,855 *l.* it follows that the Civil Liſt Revenue was to the Income belonging to the Public, as 1,461,885 *l.* to 60,248,859 *l.* or as 1 to 41, in whole Numbers.

It is obſervable from hence, that the *Income* of the *Crown*, in this Reign, was leſs in Proportion to the *Income* of the *People*, than in the Reign preceding; and the Weight of the Crown, in this Reſpect, would have declin'd very conſiderably, if his Majeſty had continu'd ſatisfy'd with the Revenue then ſettled: But the new Branches of Power that he aſſum'd, in other Articles, over the Lives and Conſciences of his People, far overbalanc'd the ſinking Proportion, with Regard to his Income: However, the growing Wealth of the People carry'd naturally with it ſo much Force, notwithſtanding he check'd it as much as poſſible, by exorbitant Fines upon the ſlighteſt Pretences, that he could ſcarcely have kept his Power fix'd at the ſame Height, without ſeizing upon an additional Share of the Property of the Kingdom; And this he would certainly have done, as ſoon as his Scheme had been in a little more Forwardneſs; In order to have balanc'd the Weight in the popular Scale, and to have preſerv'd a due *Æquilibrium* in the Syſtem of his Government.

And

And thus having waded through theſe two Reigns, and rak'd up ſome of their *Pecuniary Exploits*, I leave them naked to the View of this Age. If they are oppoſite to the vulgar Prejudices in Favour of thoſe Times, it may be obſerv'd, that the Debaucheries of *Charles* the Second, attended with Lord *Rocheſter*'s Jeſts, and the Intrigues and Drunkenneſs then rioting throughout the Kingdom, left an Impreſſion of Mirth and Gaiety upon ignorant People, which is handed down to the preſent Time; And deceives many in theſe Days into an Opinion of the Public Happineſs under his Government: But the *Brave* and *Worthy* at that Time ſpoke, and felt, *other* Things; and ſaw nothing flouriſhing, that ought to flouriſh, but our Trade and Colonies, both owing to the natural Genius and Advantages of our People; and theſe too greatly cramp'd by *French* Imports, and *French* Incroachments, under the ſhameful Connivance of our corrupt Miniſtry.

I come next to the Reign of our Immortal Deliverer, WILLIAM the Third; a Series of Time full of Events, the moſt intereſting, and important to every *Briton*. In this Reign the National Debt *grew* to be conſiderable; which, I am ſenſible, is uſually aſcrib'd to *Whig*-Management; All Concern in it being conſtantly diſclaim'd by the *Tory* Gentlemen; But if it might be no Offence to their great Modeſty, I would beg leave to lay the *Commencement* of this Debt, at *their* Door; it being indiſputable that the firſt and oldeſt Article of it was the *Bankers* Debt, being 664,263 *l.* or one Moiety of the Sum ſeiz'd by King *Charles* the Second, at his ever memorable ſhutting up of the *Exchequer*.

As

As to the Increaſe and Continuance of the National Debt, and to whoſe Conduct it is juſtly to be attributed; as likewiſe what Grants have been made to the Civil Liſt, and the reſpective Amounts of it in this, and the ſubſequent Reigns; and what Proportions the Revenues of the Crown have born to the Revenues of the People at different Periods, from the *Revolution* to the preſent Time; They are Points too curious and important to be contracted and preſs'd within a narrow Stint, and muſt therefore be reſerv'd for a SECOND Part; what has already paſs'd, having far exceeded the Limits that were deſign'd to this Treatiſe.

However, the Publication of this Firſt Part to the World, may not be unuſeful in the preſent Juncture: It contains *A ſhort Specimen of the Pecuniary Exploits of the Tories*; and may ſerve as a Light to the Principles and Practices of *thoſe* Men, when the Diſtribution of the Revenues was under *their* Power, and boaſted Management: For it cannot be improper fairly to explain the Meaſures which *they* held; The *Moderation* in *Grants* to the *Civil Liſt*; And the great *Oppoſition* to the *Incroachments* of the *Crown* in THEIR Days of Authority and Government; That the Nation may judge, what is again to be expected from THEM, if ever they ſhould by able (which Heaven avert) to thruſt themſelves into the Public Adminiſtration; and that the whole World may ſee, with what *Modeſty* and *Propriety* they now complain of *Whig* Liberality to the Civil Liſt, and of *Whig* Profuſions and Miſapplications.

But

But it is far from being here insinuated, that the Corruption of the *Tories* should be any Justification of equal Wickedness under *Whig* Management; All that is here intended, is to point out to the World the Acts and Principles of the genuine *Tories*, and how unreasonable it is to expect, that the Public Good, or an Hatred to Corruption, should be the Rule or Incitement to *their* Conduct: This only is to be expected from the Equity and Disinterestedness of the *Whigs*; And they have with true *Wisdom*, *Integrity*, and *Courage*, step'd in at the *late Breach* and disappointed *those*, whose Aim was *Confusion* and *Public Distraction*; Their *Excellent Temper*, and *Manly Contempt* of *dishonest Suggestions* and *Calumnies*, has in *this Day* preserv'd us, and merits the united Applause and warmest Gratitude of their *ever oblig'd* Country; 'Tis on *them* only, and on *their* Moderation and Virtue, that the Nation happily relies for a *strict* and *honest* Enquiry into the Measures of the *late Administration*; And they will undoubtedly make it, without *mean Resentment*, or *false Partiality*; With a strict Regard to the Public Good, and a reasonable Candour to the Person accused: Nor will they fear to publish his Acquittal to the World, if he shall be found to merit it, after a strict Scrutiny and just Examination, despising the vain Reproaches of those, who *delight* in *Guilt*, and *feast* themselves with the *Contemplation* of *Wickedness*——

Nor will the Wise and Virtuous throughout the Kingdom censure the Equity, or disapprove the Example, of his honourable Acquittal: On the contrary, they will reflect, with Gratitude, on his unusual Lenity, and the happy Enjoyment

ment of their moſt ample Privileges, under his Miniſtry; when no harſh Exerciſe of Power, or any violent Proſecutions appear'd, but all was mild and friendly, as his own frank and benevolent Heart: And though flagrant Guilt is not to be ſcreen'd, who is it that will forbid *Candour* in the Interpretation of *his* Actions, who was of all others the moſt *candid?* Or who will refuſe *Moderation* to HIM, who, in the Height of Power, was, of all Men living, the moſt *moderate?*

And now it is to be wiſh'd only, that the *Whigs* will coolly obſerve the Deſigns of their old and inveterate Enemies. Is it to be imagin'd, that the Aim and View of the *Tory* Leaders is the Deſtruction of *one Whig*, and confin'd to him only; and this merely from the *Purity* of their Hearts, and their deep *Hatred* to all *Corruption?*—Their Principle and Practice have been evidently ſhewn to be far otherwiſe. —Every *Whig* in his political State, is to them equally deteſtable; And it therefore behoves the *Body* of the *Whigs* to conſider *in Time*, whether the Deſign of the *Tories* at this *Juncture* is not their *general* Scandal and Deſtruction; And whatever perſonal Diſtinctions may be attempted to be made, whether the Effect of a *Tory* TRIUMPH, will not be *ſeverely* felt, againſt the *whole Whig* INTEREST, and the *Friends* of *Liberty*, throughout the Kingdom.

26 *February*,
1741.

F I N I S.